THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

EMPIRE OF MOROCCO.

ITS

ANIMALS, PRODUCTS, CLIMATE, SOIL, CITIES, PORTS, PROVINCES, COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES. WITH THE LANGUAGE, RELIGION, LAWS, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND CHARACTER,

OF THE

MOORS;

THE HISTORY OF THE

DYNASTIES SINCE EDRIS;

THE NAVAL FORCE AND COMMERCE OF MOROCCO; AND THE CHARACTER, CONDUCT, AND VIEWS, POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

REIGNING EMPEROR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. CHENIER.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE

BY THE

TRANSLATOR.

OF all the people, with whom Europeans have any continued intercourſe, thoſe who inhabit the coaſts of Barbary ſeem to be the leaſt known. This is the more extraordinary becauſe that their manners, cuſtoms, government, and the ignorance in which they remain, when we recollect their proximity to Europe, are very remarkable. To give

authenticity to a performance which would defcribe this peculiar people, it is neceffary that the writer fhould have been himfelf a witnefs of the facts he relates.

M. Chenier, author of the following work, was appointed Conful, by the court of France, in 1767, and refided in Morocco many years. Several Englifh gentlemen, and merchants, now in London, were acquainted with him at Mogodor, and bear teftimony to the veracity of his character, and of his narration. Various authors, who, by accident, have made fome fhort refidence in Morocco, have written concerning the manners of the Moors; but their accounts are ufually little more than journals. They all, however, prove, by the incidents they relate, that M. Chenier cannot be accufed of being difpofed to exaggerate. They all mention events that confirm, and often exceed, the moft uncommon of thofe recorded by our author.

author. The work of M. Chenier is the fulleſt and moſt complete, as well as the moſt authentic, of any hitherto preſented to the public; conſequently there is little danger that the public ſhould think ſuch a work ſuperfluous.

The following tranſlation, however, is only a part of the *Recherches hiſtoriques ſur les Maures*, by M. Chenier: but it is preſumed it is that part which alone was wanting. His two firſt volumes relate to the ancient hiſtory of Mauritania, the Arabs under the Caliphs, and the conqueſt of Spain by the Mahometans. On this ſubject there are already many hiſtories, which include information equally full, at leaſt, with that contained in the former part of the work of M. Chenier. To have tranſlated theſe volumes would have been to have made the public pay thrice the ſum for knowledge, two thirds of which they already poſſeſſed.

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To contribute to order, and increaſe perſpicuity, the tranſlation differs from the original, by being divided into books and chapters. For a ſimilar reaſon, a very copious index is added.

The tranſlator held it his duty to examine the accounts given of Morocco, by other authors, in order to eſtimate the real value of the work he meant to publiſh. While performing this taſk, he met with many curious anecdotes, that tended farther to diſplay the character of the people, and confirm the facts related by M. Chenier. Theſe he has collected, arranged, and inſerted, in a ſeparate chapter, at the concluſion of the firſt volume, to which place they moſt properly belong. That the reader may determine for himſelf how far they have a claim to his belief, it is requiſite he ſhould be informed who the perſons were by whom they are recorded. The authors are not numerous, neither

neither are their works ſcarce. The firſt, in point of date, is M. de St. Olon *, ambaſſador from the court of France to Muley Iſhmael. The next is Buſnot †, a father of the order of the Holy Trinity, who went, accompanied by ſome other monks, to Morocco, for the redemption of French captives. The third is Mr. Windus ‡, who accompanied the Engliſh ambaſſador, the honourable Charles Stewart, in the year 1721. To render his embaſſy more effectual, Stewart was commodore of a ſquadron of ſhips, and his negociation was ſpoken of in terms of the higheſt approbation. The fourth was Jean de la Faye §, and the fathers of his order, who, like Buſnot, were ſent to effect

* Relation de l' Empire de Maroc, par M. de St. Olon. A Paris, 1695.

† Hiſtoire du regne de Mouley Iſhmael, A Rouen, 1714.

‡ A journey to Mequinez. London, 1725.

§ Relation, en forme de Journal, du voyage pour la redemption des captifs. A Paris, 1726.

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the redemtion of French captives: and the fifth Captain Braithwaite, who accompanied Mr. Ruſſell, the Engliſh ambaſſador, to Morocco *. To inſiſt upon the reſpectability of ſuch authorities were unneceſſary; it is ſufficient for the tranſlator to ſay that all the facts, related in the additional chapter above mentioned, are to be found in theſe authors.

* Hiſtory of the revolutions in the Empire of Morocco; London, 1729.

THE

PRESENT STATE OF THE EMPIRE OF MOROCCO.

BOOK I.

Geographical Extent of the Empire of Morocco—Provinces—Cities—Rivers—Ports and Harbours—Climate—Soil—Fruits—Products—Mines—Ancient Commerce and ſources of Wealth—Inhabitants—Tribes—Dreſs—Renegados—Jews—Animals.

CHAP. I.

Geographical Situation and Extent of the Empire of Morocco.

THE Empire of Morocco extends from the twenty-eighth to the thirty-ſixth degree of north latitude; its length, from north to ſouth, I imagine to be nearly two hundred leagues; its breadth in the northern part is about five degrees, ſix or ſeven in the middle, and about a hundred

and thirty leagues where it is broadeſt. It is bounded to the north by the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean, to the eaſt by the kingdom of Tremecen and Vled d'Elgerid, to the ſouth by the Deſert, and to the weſt by the Atlantic Ocean.

The territories of Morocco are formed by the union of ſeveral ſmall kingdoms, anciently limited to a ſingle province, and perpetually at variance among themſelves, till at length they were ſubdued and united under one ſovereign by the Sharifs. The ſouthern part of the Empire contains the kingdoms of Suz, Tarudant, Morocco, Tafilet, and Sugulmeſſa, and the northern thoſe of Fez, Mequinez, and Tremecen; the latter, which was formerly ſubject to Morocco, having been conquered by the Turks of Algiers, is now a part of the territories of that Regency.

The kingdom of Morocco comprehends at preſent the provinces of Morocco, Eſcura, Ramna, Duquella, Abda, Sherma, Hea, Suo, Dra, and Geſula; that of Fez contains thoſe of Temſena, Shavoya, Ted-

la, Beni-Haſſen, Fez, Rif, Garet, Shaus, and Algarb. Several authors, who have copied from each other, have given other names to ſome of theſe provinces, but I have taken the natives for my guide, who muſt certainly be beſt acquainted with the names of the ſeveral diſtricts: to this may be added that the limits of theſe provinces have frequently varied, according as they have been occupied by different tribes; this variation of extent may have cauſed a variation of name.

Beſide the provinces which compoſe the Empire of Morocco, the Sharifs claim the ſovereignty of the Vled de Nun, and the deſert of Zahara (an Arabic word ſignifying deſert) but their authority over theſe provinces is very precarious, as it depends on the pleaſure of their ſubjects and temporary circumſtances. The people who inhabit theſe deſerts, far removed from the center of deſpotic authority, live in tribes or ſmall republics, and chuſe their own chiefs. They retain for the Emperor of Morocco that reſpect and veneration which his power, and the idea they have of

his ſupremacy, as head of the church, inſpire; but they pay or refuſe tribute as they think fit, ſince it is not poſſible for him to obtain it by force in a parched and burning country, where the people have no fixed habitation, and where an army would neither be able to act nor to ſubſiſt. This part of the coaſt has been called Vled de Nun, from Cape Non, which was diſcovered by the Portugueze in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and to which they gave this name, becauſe thoſe who doubled it firſt never returned.

The whole Empire of Morocco is ſurrounded to the eaſt, north, and ſouth, by a chain of vallies and mountains, which are diſtinguiſhed according to the number and names of the tribes by whom they are inhabited: from Laracha to near Saffi, the weſtern part of it forms a ſort of plain, which, in many places, is fifteen or twenty leagues in breadth, from eaſt to weſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Provinces of the Empire of Morocco.

IT is impoſſible to be very accurate in the geography of this country. The prejudices of the Moors, who are not accuſtomed to the ſight of Europeans, will not permit us to viſit the inland provinces: ſuch reſearches would only ſerve to awaken their jealouſy. They, in fact, ſcarcely know themſelves the extent of their provinces, which varies according to the will or intereſt of the prince, the favour the governors are in at court, and other temporary circumſtances.

In deſcribing this Empire I ſhall firſt treat of the maritime provinces which I have travelled through, almoſt from one end to the other, as theſe, from their ſituation, are more intereſting than thoſe of the interior country, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

The moſt northern province is that of

Garet,

Garet, on the weſtern banks of the Mulluvia, which divides the Empire of Morocco from the province of Tremecen. This province, about twenty or twenty-five leagues in length, is bounded to the north by the Mediterranean, Mount Atlas to the ſouth, and the province of Rif to the weſt.

The province of Rif, which is one of the largeſt, is ſituated amidſt that chain of mountains which forms a part of the leſſer Atlas. This province, the ſoil of which is ſtoney, is bounded by that of Garet, to the eaſt, the Mediterranean to the north, on the coaſt of which is the ancient city of Gomera, as alſo Melilla and Veles de Pegnon, belonging to Spain ; by the province of Garb to the weſt, and to the ſouth by thoſe of Shaus, or Chaus, and Fez.

The province of Garb begins in the territory of Tetuan, and extends near a degree in length from eaſt to weſt, reaching quite to Cape Spartel ; its length, from north to ſouth, is about thirty-ſix leagues ; it is bounded to the north by the Straits of

Gibraltar, to the ſouth by the river Mamora, to the weſt by the Ocean, and to the eaſt by the kingdom of Fez. The northern part of this province is not very fruitful, as it is interſected with vallies, the lands are liable to be injured by the heavy rains, and the harveſt is very uncertain; the reſt of the province is extremely beautiful; it is watered by ſeveral rivers, and embelliſhed by ſome foreſts. Leo Africanus, and all thoſe who have copied him, call this province Aſgar, which, I am inclined to believe, is an error either in tranſcribing or printing, and that the name intended was El-Garb, which ſignifies the weſt.

Next to the province of Garb, or El-Garb, lies that of Beni-Haſſen, called by Leo Africanus, and thoſe who have followed him, Habat, which was poſſibly the ancient name; the preſent may have been received from ſome new tribe which took poſſeſſion of it. This province is bounded to the north by the river Mamora, and extends to the ſouth to that of Sarrat; four leagues from Rabat, to the eaſt, are the provinces of

Fez and Tedla, and to the weſt the ocean. This province is very extenſive, rich, and commercial, and produces wool of a very excellent quality.

The province of Temſena is contiguous to that of Beni-Haſſen, and extends from the river Sarrat to that of Morbeya. It is bounded to the eaſt by the provinces of Tedla and Shavoya, or Chavoya, that of Beni-Haſſen to the north, Duquella to the ſouth, and the Atlantic Ocean to the eaſt. This province is rich and fertile, and abounds in excellent proviſions of various kinds. Its name ſeems intended to ſignify its ſalubrity and the purity of the climate. *Temſena* appears to be derived from the two Arabic words *Tamam Sana*, only a year; as if they ſhould ſay, that to reſide here only a year would be ſufficient to inſure the ſickly the return of their health, and ſuch, in fact, is the firm belief of the natives. Corn is very plentiful in this province, it is of a very excellent kind, and the ears frequently bear ſeventy grains, or more. In the foreſts is found a kind of cedar, called Ha-

zar,

zar, of a resinous smell; it is a hard and incorruptible wood, and the Moors employ it in building their houses. Leo Africanus, misled by the similarity of names, calls this province Tremecen, the name of a kingdom which does not belong to Morocco. Marmol, in copying him, has fallen into the same error.

Passing the river Morbeya, the southern limit of Temsena, we arrive at the province of Duquella, which extends to the walls of Saffi. This province is bounded on the north by that of Temsena; to the east by those of Escura, Ramna, and Morocco; to the south by the province of Abda; and to the west by the ocean. It is very populous, rich, and commercial, abounds in corn, and produces a great deal of wool, part of which is sold unwrought, and the rest employed in the manufactures, with which it supplies the southern provinces. This province formerly extended to the river Tansif, but that of Abda has been taken out of it, in order to divide it between two brothers who disputed the government. The inhabitants

habitants of Duquella are, in general, of a large ſize and robuſt; they are a trading people, and, as the ſpirit of intereſt has a great influence on the characters of men, they are more affable and engaging than thoſe of the other ſouthern provinces.

The province of Abda, which made a part of that of Duquella, begins at the city of Saffi, and extends to the river of Tanſif; it is of a triangular form. The inhabitants of this province are particularly addicted to the profeſſion of arms, and many of them are in the ſervice of the Court.

Next to the province of Abda is that of Hea, which is bounded to the north by the river Tanſif, to the eaſt by the province of Sherma, or Cherma, to the weſt by the ocean, and to the ſouth by the province of Sus. The inhabitants of Hea are a trading people, but reſtleſs, and little civilized; they are perpetually diſtracted by inteſtine broils. The province of Sherma, which is between this and that of Morocco, has been diſmembered from that of Hea.

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The province of Sus is next to that of Hea. It is bounded to the eaſt by the province of Dra and a part of Geſula, to the weſt by the ſea, and to the ſouth by the Vled de Nun. This was formerly a very trading province, from its connections with the ſouthern diſtricts; but the preſent Emperor of Morocco having deſtroyed the city of Sainte Croix (Santa Cruz), it has no longer the ſame reſources; it may, however, indemnify itſelf for this loſs by trading with the European ſettlements in Senegal.

Theſe are the maritime provinces of the Empire of Morocco: as to thoſe within land and on the eaſtern ſide of the country, as they cannot be frequented by Europeans, it is impoſſible to ſpeak of them with the ſame preciſion. I ſhall now, however, return from the ſouth to the north, and deſcribe theſe according to the beſt accounts I have been able to procure.

To the eaſt of the province of Sus, and to the north of Vled de Nun, are the provinces of Dra and Geſula, both in the neigh-

neighbourhood of Mount Atlas, which, in this ſouthern part of the country, extends almoſt to the ſea.

Proceeding northward we enter the province of Morocco, which is of conſiderable extent. Between this province and that of Hea is ſituated the province of Sherma, which has been diſmembered from the latter. This ſmall province and thoſe of Abda and Duquella are to the weſt of that of Morocco, which is bounded to the north by the province of Eſcura, or Aſcora, as it is called by Leo Africanus, and by Mount Atlas to the eaſt.

Next to the province of Morocco is the province of Eſcura, which, with that of Ramna, formerly compoſed only one government; it has been divided to keep the people of theſe countries, ſo near to the mountains, more eaſily in ſubjection. Ramna and Eſcura have the province of Morocco to the ſouth, that of Duquella to the weſt, the river Morbeya to the north, and Mount Atlas to the eaſt.

Proceed-

Proceeding northward from the province of Efcura we enter that of Tedla, which extends along the eaftern fide of Mount Atlas, and has to the weft the province of Shavoya; the latter, inhabited by mountaineers addicted to robbery and violence, is bounded to the weft by the province of Temfena, and to the north by that of Beni-Haffen, with which it is frequently engaged in difputes.

The province of Fez is fituated to the north of Tedla and Shavoya, and has to the weft the provinces of Beni-Haffen and Garb, and Mount Atlas to the eaft, ftretching to the north as far as the provinces of Shaus, Rif, and Garet. The dependencies of the province of Fez are very extenfive, and include feveral mountains abounding in inhabitants, and well cultivated.

Mount Atlas is the eaftern boundary of all the weftern provinces of Morocco. This mountain is formed by an endlefs chain of lofty eminences, divided into different countries, inhabited by a multitude of tribes, whofe ferocity permits no ftranger

to approach. I have not been able to obtain a ſufficient knowledge of theſe mountains to deſcribe them accurately: what Leo Africanus has ſaid of them is very vague; and his account is the leſs to be regarded, at preſent, as it is now about three centuries ſince he wrote, and the face of the country has been in that time totally changed. Nothing, perhaps, would be more intereſting to the curioſity of the philoſopher, or conduce more to the improvement of our knowledge in natural hiſtory, than a journey over Mount Atlas. The climate, though extremely cold in winter, is very healthy and pleaſant; the vallies are well cultivated, abound in fruits, and are diverſified by foreſts and plentiful ſprings, the ſtreams of which, uniting at a little diſtance, form great rivers, and loſe themſelves in the ocean. According to the reports of the Moors, there are many quarries of marble, granite, and other valuable ſtone, in theſe mountains: it is probable, there are alſo mines, but the inhabitants have no idea of theſe riches; they conſider their liberty, which their ſitua-

ſituation enables them to defend, as the moſt ineſtimable of all treaſures.

To the eaſt of Mount Atlas in a ſandy plain, part of the ancient Numidia, is the kingdom of Tafilet, which was conquered by Joſeph Abu Teſeffin, one of the firſt kings of Morocco; this kingdom was then called Sugulmeſſa. It is bounded to the north by the neighbouring mountains of Tremecen and Fez, and extends to the ſouth to the province of Geſula, having Vled d'Elgerid, or Biledulgerid, to the eaſt, and Atlas to the weſt. The city of Sugulmeſſa, which was formerly the capital of the kingdom of that name, is at preſent in that of Tafilet. There is no way from Morocco to this province but by croſſing one of the extremities of Mount Atlas, that is, either by the ſide of the province of Sus, or by that of Fez; the latter road, as it is leſs ſultry, is moſt frequented.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Cities, Rivers, and Harbours, of the Empire of Morocco.

I SHALL not here confine myſelf to a mere deſcription of the towns and ports of Morocco; to render my obſervations more uſeful, I ſhall ſubjoin ſome remarks relative to the navigation of the coaſt, the convenience of the rivers, ports, and roads, and the trade which may be carried on with the country.

Nature has defended the weſtern coaſt of Morocco with an almoſt inſurmountable barrier, in the numerous rocks level with the ſurface of the water which line the ſhore: a deſcent would be the more difficult to accompliſh as the invaders could not be ſure of a retreat, on account of the changes inceſſantly occaſioned by the agitation of the ſea and the variations of the tides.

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The towns in this Empire are neither large, numerous, nor populous: The despots, jealous of their authority, and fearful of being deprived of the power they abuse, consider cities and strong places as more favourable to rebellions, and the liberty of the subject, than camps; their towns, therefore, are weakly fortified, and little capable of defence on the land side.

The empire of *Morocco* is separated on the north from the kingdom of Algiers, by the river Mulluvia, which falls into the Mediterranean. The Emperor is in possession of no place on this northern coast, which coast is known by the name of *Rif*, the few he had having been taken by the Spaniards, who still possess them; such are, Alhusema, Melilla, and Veles de Pegnon, or Gomera.

Melilla, or Melela, is an ancient city, which was probably founded by the Carthaginians. Its name proves that honey was plentiful in its environs. The Goths, who had possessed themselves of it, abandoned it when the Arabs invaded the country.

try. It was forsaken in like manner by the Moors, and seized on by the Spaniards about the beginning of the fifteenth century. Sidy Mahomet ineffectually laid siege to this place in 1774.

Veles de Pegnon, or Gomera, is a castle built on a rock, whence its name is taken. Below this fortress there was anciently a city, called Bedis, supposed to have been founded by the Carthaginians: the Arabs have called it Belis and Velis, whence the name Veles. These two places, surrounded by mountains and forests, were supported by the building of ships, for fishing and piracy, before they were taken by the Spaniards. This part of the coast of Rif is of no utility to navigation. Traversing it from east to west we find the river of Boossega, near Tetuan, where the Morocco gallies anchor and winter, protected by a bad fort.

A league and a half from the road up the country is the city of Tetuan, in the province of Garb, inhabited by Moors and Jews, who, most of them, speak Spanish;

they are commercial, gentle in their manners, and polite. The environs of this city are planted with vineyards and gardens, kept in good order; and the fruits here are better and more carefully nurtured than in the other parts of the empire. Leo Africanus attributes the foundation of this city to the people of Africa. Tetuan was embellished, and its population increased, when the Moors were driven out of Spain: the Europeans of the present century have traded here; and this was the place of residence for several consuls till the year 1770, when the reigning Emperor would no longer permit them to remain, nor again to establish themselves, in this city. This place has preserved a communication with Gibraltar, whence the ships come to victual when the wind is in the west, and does not permit them to make Tangiers. The shore of Tetuan is only safe when the wind is in the west, at which time ships ride secure; but when it veers to the east, they must remain there no longer.

After Tetuan I must speak of Ceuta,

which belongs to the Spaniards, and which ſerves as a harbour for ſmall veſſels: from thence to Tangiers, the coaſt, inhabited by Moors and rugged with projecting cliffs, is of no utility to navigation; there are indeed a few coves where ſmall boats, in caſe of neceſſity, may find ſhelter. Judging by probabilities, this place muſt have been built by the Carthaginians, and afterward appertained to the Romans, by whom it was colonized. It next became the metropolis of the places which the Goths held in *Hiſpania Transfretana*, was after that abandoned to the Arabs and the Moors by Count Julian, was taken by the Portugueze in 1415, and is at preſent under the dominion of Spain.

Tangiers, in the province of Garb, lies about ten leagues from the road of Tetuan, at the weſtern mouth of the Strait. This place, which belonged firſt to the Romans, and afterward to the Goths, was likewiſe given up to the Mahometans by Count Julian. It was taken in 1471 by the Portugueſe, and given to Charles II., King of England, in 1662, as a marriage portion with

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the Princeſs Catharine of Portugal. The Engliſh abandoned it in 1684, after having deſtroyed the mole and the fortifications. Almoſt in ruins, at preſent, it ſtill retains ſome batteries, in tolerable condition, facing the bay; but theſe could with difficulty reſiſt any powerful attack. At the bottom of the bay, towards the eaſt, oppoſite the ruins of old Tangiers, is the mouth of the river, where the Emperor formerly laid up his gallies during winter; but the ſand banks and bars, at preſent, render the river uſeleſs.

The ſituation of the bay of Tangiers is, and always will be, favourable to Mooriſh piracy, who, from this the narroweſt part of the Strait, may eaſily ſurpriſe merchant ſhips, that are incapable of defence.

Tangiers cannot become a commercial town, having but few productions in its environs; the Spaniards thence obtained ſome fowls and vegetables, formerly, and the Engliſh, at preſent, ſupplies for their garriſon at Gibraltar.

The bay of Tangiers is not very safe when the wind is in the west, having been encumbered by the ruins of the mole and fortification; the cables are liable to be torn, and the ships to be driven on shore. The best anchorage, for frigates and the larger vessels, is at the eastern point, whence they may easily set sail whichever way the wind sets; the bay, however, is only dangerous during the winter.

To the west of Tangiers is Cape Spartel, which must be doubled to make Arzilla, that lies only five leagues from Tangiers. Arzilla is built at the mouth of a river, and inhabited by Moors and Jews, who carry on no trade; it was formerly a Roman colony, afterward fell under the government of the Goths, and was next taken by the Mahometans. Alphonso of Portugal, surnamed the African, mastered it in 1471: and it was abandoned by the Portuguese toward the end of the sixteenth century.

Coasting along to the south we find, at the distance of twelve leagues, the city of Laracha,

Laracha, built on the river Luccos, which is the Lixos of the Greeks. The name of this city comes from the Arabic El-Arais, which signifies a place abounding in gardens: perhaps its founders were desirous to preserve the memory of the garden of the Hesperides, which is supposed to have been here situated. The environs of this place, intersected by woods and some marshes, are exceedingly pleasant; and it would be very proper for trade, the river having a sufficient depth of water, and the neighbourhood being capable of furnishing products for Europe.

Laracha was fortified by Muley Nasser at the end of the sixteenth century, was afterwards given up to Spain in 1610, and retaken in 1689 by Muley Ishmael. There is a fort still standing on the land side, which is regular, was built by the Spaniards, and is in good preservation: the castle, beside the road, has been put in good repair some years since, and reinforced by several batteries at the water's edge.

The French bombarded this place in

1765, and entered the river to ſet fire to two Corſairs; but the enterpriſe, though executed with courage, having been impeded by obſtacles not ſufficiently foreſeen, had not by any means the ſucceſs expected.

The Europeans have carried on ſome commerce at Laracha, under the reign of the preſent Emperor, Sidy Mahomet; but, by one of thoſe alterations the cauſes of which we are ignorant, he obliged all the merchants to retire in 1780.

The paſſage of the river of Laracha is of ſufficient depth; the large veſſels of the Emperor uſually winter there, where there are magazines for the refitting of veſſels, but no docks for building, the wood proper for which is too diſtant, and the ſoil, which is merely ſand, not being ſufficiently firm for the erecting of ſtocks. The road of Laracha is inſecure in winter when the winds freſhen from the weſt and ſouth weſt, but there is no danger between the beginning of April and the end of September.

From

From Laracha to Mamora, containing about twenty leagues by land, the face of the country is variegated by divers lakes, forests, and vallies, which formerly were tolerably populous. Among these vallies, as we approach Mamora, we meet with lakes of soft water, which are nearly eight leagues in extent, abounding in ducks and water fowl, and where eels are taken in great numbers. The boats made use of by the fishermen are a kind of skiffs made of reeds and rushes, about six feet long and two broad, and will scarcely hold a man. The fisherman guides them with a pole, and pierces the eels, when he sees them in the water, with a sort of dart. On the banks of these lakes are to be seen several sanctuaries of the Maraboots, who are held in great veneration for their supposed holiness, and a number of camps of the Moors, who cultivate the neighbouring lands, which are but moderately productive. This valley is extremely pleasant in winter and spring, but in summer it is parched and disagreeable. At the southern extremity is a sanctuary on an eminence, appertaining to which are habitaitons and

and gardens. Hence we perceive the windings of the river Seboo, which takes its course from Fez, and uniting with the Beth falls into the ocean. This river, which is crossed in boats much out of repair, is at about the distance of a league from the sanctuary, and is the boundary between the province of Garb and that of Beni-Hassen.

The fort of Mamora, which is to the south of the Seboo, is the first inhabited place in the province of Beni-Hassen. It was begun by the Portuguese in 1515, and destroyed the same year by the Moors. It was rebuilt in 1604 by the Spaniards, from whom it was taken by Muley Ishmael in 1681. This fortress, which was originally built at the mouth of the river Seboo, is now two miles distant from it, in consequence of the drifted sand-banks and bars, which have rendered the entrance of this river so difficult and dangerous as to be no longer of any use to commerce or navigation. There are at this fort about five-and-thirty or forty families, who gain a wretched livelihood by the profits of their

ferry,

ferry, and fishing for shads, of which they take such numbers as to be able to supply all the neighbouring country between November and the end of March.

From Mamora it is five leagues to Sallee. This town is situated in the province of Beni-Hassen, at the mouth of the river of Sallee, which is formed by the union of the two smaller rivers, the Buregreb and the Gueroo. The river of Sallee was formerly a port capable of receiving large ships; but the sand has now so choaked up the entrance, that ships of two hundred tons cannot enter it till their guns and ballast are taken out. This town was taken in 1261 by Don Alphonso X., King of Castile; but he was not able to keep it, the King of Fez retaking it immediately after.

Sallee is a walled town, and has a battery, of twenty-four pieces of cannon, which commands the road, and a redoubt, which defends the entrance of the river. To the north we perceive the walls and ruins of a small inhabited town, which Muley

Muley Ishmael caused to be built for the families of his black soldiers.

On the south side of the river of Sallee is the town of Rabat. These two places are so near each other that they ought not to be separated. As they are united by the same interests, they for some time formed a kind of union, and were governed by the same magistrates; and it is only within these thirty years that the reigning Emperor has abolished this form of government. There has been formerly, and at intervals, a number of European factories at Rabat; but the difficulty of navigating the river, the obstacles arising from the arbitrary power of the Sovereign, and the disposition and prejudices of the Moors, have disgusted the Europeans. Rabat is, however, the most proper place for trade of any upon this coast, both for its vicinity to Europe and the quantity of wool, leather, and wax, it is capable of furnishing. From its central situation, in the empire, it is also better adapted for conveying the commodities imported to every part of the country; but

a despotic

a despotic government acknowledges no principle but the convenience of the moment; it commands, judges, and executes without considering either cause or consequence.

At Rabat, near the mouth of the river, are to be seen the ruins of a castle, built by Jacob Almonsor, or Al-Mansor, in the twelfth century, but entirely demolished by the reigning Emperor, who has only preserved some magazines remarkable for their strength and solidity. In this castle, which I have seen before it was destroyed, was the palace of Jacob Almonsor, where every thing, either necessary or convenient, was to be found in miniature. Under the palace were subterranean magazines for ammunition, vaulted so that they were bomb proof. There was, also, fronting the road, a small fort and a battery that defended the entrance of the river, but which have been laid in ruins by time. These batteries were rebuilt in 1774 on a more extensive plan; but the workman who constructed them (an English renegado and an excellent mason) has made the embrasures

so

ſo near each other that it will be difficult to uſe them with any effect. Other batteries have alſo been erected, lower down, to prevent a landing. At a ſmall diſtance from the caſtle, toward the ſouth, on an eminence, is a little ſquare fort, built by Muley Archid, or Arſhid. This fort, which at preſent ſtands alone, formerly was joined to the caſtle by a wall, which ſerved as a covered way, but which has been demoliſhed by the reigning Emperor.

Jacob Almonſor, being deſirous to fix his reſidence at Rabat, and make it at the ſame time a place of ſtrength, and the magazine of his arms, that he might from thence, more eaſily paſs into Spain, of which he was Sovereign, built the walls, which ſtill remain. They are near two miles round, and fortified by ſquare towers. They encloſe the caſtle, the town of Rabat *, and a large

* The city was built on the eaſtern declivity, beſide the palace of Muley Arſhid. The houſes, according to Mooriſh tradition, had been built by Spaniſh ſlaves, with little ſolidity, purpoſely that they might fall upon the Moors, which actually happened; the ſlaves were puniſhed with death at the

a large ſpace of ground, where that prince built beautiful palaces, and laid out delightful gardens, watered by plentiful ſtreams which he brought from the neighbouring ſpring *. Theſe walls, as well as the palace and the town, were built by Spaniſh ſlaves, whom he took priſoners in his firſt campaign.

This Monarch built within the ſame incloſure a very large moſque, the ruins of which ſtill remain. The roof was ſupported by three hundred and ſixty columns of rough marble. Beſide the eaſtern front were apartments for thoſe who had any employment in the moſque, and porticoes, which were ſtill ſtanding in 1773. On the oppoſite ſide was a handſome ſquare tower, ſtrongly built with cut ſtone. It is near two hundred feet high, and called the

the iron gate of the grand incloſure, where there are five gates, that of the ſea, that of Morocco, that of the mount, the iron gate, and the gate of Shella, or Chella.

* Theſe waters come from a valley called Tamara, to the ſouth of Rabat, where there is a bubbling ſpring not far from that which ſupplies Rabat with water.

tower

tower of Haffen. This tower has the fame form, the fame ornaments, the fame ftaircafe, and the fame proportions as thofe of Seville and Morocco; and, according to all tradition, is the work of the fame architect. From this tower we have an extenfive view over the fea, and fhips may be difcovered at a prodigious diftance. This monument is in perfect prefervation, notwithftanding the natural propenfity of the Moors to deftroy every thing. The ftaircafe only has been a little damaged, as has the eaft-fouth-eaft corner, which has been beaten down by lightning. At a fmall diftance from this tower, on the north fide, are ftill to be feen the ruins of a wall, on which formerly ftood a caftle.

After that feries of revolutions which fo long convulfed the empire of Morocco, the Moorifh inhabitants poffeffed themfelves of the ground of this vaft inclofure, and planted gardens and vineyards, which rendered it extremely agreeable: but the reigning Emperor, notwithftanding the land had been private property for three hundred years, and tranfmitted to the

the poſſeſſors by their anceſtors for many generations, reclaimed it in 1774 as the right of the crown, ſeized every thing he found on it, and built a town for thoſe ſoldiers who have ſtill preſerved the name of Negroes; but, theſe troops having been diſbanded, the town has been deſerted, and nothing now remains of it but a heap of ruins. This Monarch, in 1785, began to erect a palace here, in which he propoſes to reſide, if no new caprice ſhould induce him to alter his intentions.

There are ſome docks for building ſhips at Sallee and Rabat; but the difficulty of navigating the channel, and the probability that the ſand will continue to accumulate, give ground to predict that, very ſoon, only veſſels with oars will be able to enter the river.

The road of Sallee is only to be frequented in the fine ſeaſon, from the beginning of April to the end of September; when the wind blows from the ſouth ſouth weſt, which ſeldom happens but in winter, this road is no longer ſafe;

ſhips are expoſed to be driven out to ſea, and the ſhifting of the ſands of the bar render any communication with the town extremely difficult. The beſt anchorage to be found is on the ſouth ſide of the river next Rabat, and the ſhip ſhould be moored between the tower of the moſque and that called Haſſen, having the latter to the north. Great attention ſhould be paid to the cables, as a great number of anchors have here been loſt.

On the eaſtern ſide of Rabat we meet with a ſmall ruinous town called Shella, which contains many Mooriſh tombs, held in great veneration. The town itſelf is conſidered as a ſacred aſylum, and is only permitted to be entered by Mahometans. It ſeems probable this was the metropolis of the Carthaginian colonies on the weſtern coaſt of Africa.

Eight leagues from Rabat, toward the ſouth, in the province of Temſena, we find a wretched caſtle, named Menſooria: it was built in the twelfth century, by Jacob Almonſor, to afford an aſylum to

travellers during the night, the inhabitants of the country round it being a miſchievous and thieviſh people.

Proceeding along the ſame coaſt, eight leagues from Menſooria, we arrive at the road of Fedala. The name of iſland is improperly given to a little point of land which projects into the ſea, and forms a bay ſcarcely ſufficient to ſhelter a few ſmall veſſels. The reigning Emperor, in 1773, having permitted a great quantity of corn to be brought out of the matamores * contiguous to this road, endeavoured to take advantage of the opportunity to procure a city to be built, by obliging the merchants, who wiſhed to have any of the corn, to build ſome houſes; in conſequence of which the town of Fedala was begun in a very advantageous ſituation, but no ſooner was the corn diſpoſed of than it was abandoned. Such is the brief

* Matamores are holes dug in the earth, in which corn is long preſerved, as will be more circumſtantially related in the account I ſhall give of the manners and cuſtoms of the Moors.

hiſtory of Fedala, a town ruined before it was finiſhed; and ſuch is indeed the hiſtory of nearly the whole country.

As this road is defended by the coaſt, which, on the ſouthern ſide, perceptibly extends to the weſt, ſhips may anchor here in ſecurity in winter; but, in ſummer, when the winds blow ſtrong from the north north weſt, the ſwell of the ſea is very incommodious.

Four leagues to the ſouth of Fedala we meet with Anafa, at preſent called Dar Beyda, a town formerly in the poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe, but of which nothing now remains but ſome ruins, among which are a number of Mooriſh huts. It is ſituated near a pleaſant bay, and in an extenſive plain, which, if well cultivated, would be very fertile.

Fifteen leagues from Anafa, or Dar Beyda, by following the coaſt toward the ſouth, we arrive at the town of Azamore, in the province of Duquella, on the river Morbeya,

Morbeya*, and at ſome diſtance from its mouth. This town is not proper for maritime commerce, becauſe the entrance of the river is dangerous. Azamore was unſucceſsfully beſieged by the Portugueſe in 1508; it was taken, however, in 1513, by the Duke of Braganza, but abandoned about the end of the ſixteenth century.

At a little diſtance from Azamore, facing a ſpacious bay, are the ruins of the ancient city of Titus, which I imagine likewiſe to have been one of the cities founded by order of the Senate of Carthage. Near the ſame place are the ruins of Almedina, a town built by the Moors.

Beſide the ſame bay, four leagues to the ſouth of Azamore, is ſituated the city of Mazagan, which was built by the Portugueſe in 1506, and named by them Caſtillo Real. Under the walls of this place,

* The true name of this river is Om-Arbaym; that is to ſay, forty ſprings, or forty mothers, and it is called Morbeya only by a corruption of the word.

on the north ſide, a dock has been made, which will admit ſmall veſſels ; but large ſhips are obliged to anchor two leagues out at ſea, on account of the cape of Azamore, which ſtretches to the weſt, and which it would be difficult to double if a ſouth-weſt wind ſhould drive them from their anchors. Mazagan was beſieged without effect in 1562 by the Sharif of Morocco, and remained in the poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe till 1769, when the preſent Emperor laid ſiege to it juſt as it was determined to be abandoned by the court of Liſbon. The Moors of the province of Duquella, who carried on a clandeſtine trade with the Portugueſe, greatly regret that it has changed its maſter.

The town of Mazagan is at preſent entirely ruined, and almoſt uninhabited. The Moors have taken away the timber of the houſes, and left the walls ſtanding. I ſaw, in 1781, a ciſtern, ſtill remaining, though damaged by the bombs, which deſerves the notice of travellers for the elegance of its conſtruction : the deſcent is by ſtairs ; the effuſion of light is ſplendid, and the

the vaulted roof is ſupported by twenty-four very regular columns. At a little diſtance to the ſouth weſt of Mazagan is an old tower, called Boriſha; whence the name of Bridja, which the Moors confound with that of Mazagan.

When this town belonged to the Portugueſe, the ſouthern Moors, who were not able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, imagined the neglect of this devotion might be compenſated by coming and diſcharging their muſkets at the Chriſtian town of Mazagan. One of theſe fanatics having been killed by a cannon ſhot from the place, his comrades buried him as a ſaint, and carried away the ball as a trophy of victory; they took care, however, for the future, to fire their pieces at a greater diſtance.

Twelve leagues from Mazagan, proceeding along the coaſt, we find the town of Valedia ſituated in a ſtony plain, extremely incommodious to the traveller. Here is a very ſpacious natural baſon, ſurrounded by rocks, which would contain more than

a thouſand ſhips ; but the entrance, which is narrow, and entirely open to the weſt, is equally difficult and dangerous. The coaſt of Valedia is lined with rocks near thirty feet high, which anciently muſt have been waſhed by the ſea, the Moors living in the caverns the waters have hollowed out. At the bottom of theſe rocks the ſands, heaped up during ſucceſſive ages, have formed an extenſive and pleaſant plain, where the Moors cultivate pulſe and vegetables, which they ſell in the province of Duquella, where the want of water renders all kind of garden productions extremely ſcarce.

The little town of Valedia is only a circle of walls, containing but few habitations. Its name indicates that it was built under the reign of Muley Valid, who died in 1647. This town ſeems to be ſituated nearly on the ſame ſpot where Leo Africanus places Conte, which, he ſays, was built by the Africans twenty miles from Saffi. Marmol has copied him exactly ; but, by ſome miſtake in the name, confounds Conte with cape Cottes, at preſent

cape

cape Spartel, which is a hundred leagues more to the north.

Eight leagues from Valedia toward the south, after doubling cape Cantin, we arrive at the town of Saffi, the only one in the province of Abda. This place is very ancient, and was probably one of the cities built by the Carthaginians. The Portuguese made themselves masters of it in 1508, and abandoned it in 1641, after having resisted every effort of the Sharifs, who were not able to take it from them.

Saffi was long the centre of the commerce carried on with Europe. The French, who had several factories there before the peace, and who resided there, confiding in the laws of hospitality, brought thence great quantities of wool, wax, gum and leather; but the present Emperor having made Mogodor a principal port, Saffi has no longer any trade. This town has a very fine road, where ships may anchor very safely, except in winter, when the winds blow from the south or south west,

weſt, for they are then ſure to be driven out to ſea.

The environs of Saffi are a dry and parched deſert, and the Moors of the town rude, fanatical, and unſociable. There are a number of tombs, or aſylums of ſaints at the entrance of this town, which have been made a pretext for obliging the Jews to enter it barefooted; nor was any Chriſtian till lately permitted to ride in on horſeback. I was the firſt who freed the Europeans from this ridiculous reſtriction, to which they had long been ſubjected; and it is only ſince 1767, when I reſided a whole year at Saffi, after the peace, that they have been allowed to go in or out of this town on horſeback *.

About five leagues to the ſouth of Saffi is the river of Tanſif, which is the boundary of the province of Abda. This river

* This ridiculous devotion firſt began toward the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century; for the Portugueſe, who were maſters of that place, did not abandon it till the year 1641.

riſes

rises in Mount Atlas, and, taking its course near Morocco, falls into the Atlantic ocean. At the mouth of this river, on the northern side, amid some sands and marshes, are the ruins of a small town, called by the Moors Suera, from which the unwholesomeness of the air, or the inundations of the Tansif, has driven the inhabitants. On the other side of the Tansif, which is passed by fording, or on rafts made of reeds tied to leathern bags filled with wind, we find a square castle, built in the reign of Muley Ishmael, to defend the passage of the river during the time of the intestine disturbances of the empire. This castle at present only contains a few families, and the country round it is not cultivated.

From the Tansif it is eighteen leagues to Mogodor, in the province of Hea. The intermediate country is interspersed with vallies, which are tolerably pleasant, though stony, and in which, from time to time, we meet with cultivation. This place, which the Moors call, indifferently, Suera, or Mogodor, receives its name from a saint, held

held here in great veneration by the name of Sidi Mogodoor, whoſe tomb is to be ſeen at a ſmall diſtance to the ſouth of the town. Mogodor formerly had a wretched caſtle, built by the Portugueſe, to preſerve a communication with their ſettlements to the ſouth of this coaſt. This caſtle protected alſo the entrance of a harbour, formed by a channel between the main land and a ſmall iſland. Such a ſituation appearing favourable to make it a place of trade, the preſent Emperor reſolved to found a city here, and the wealthier Moors began to build houſes to pleaſe their Sovereign. Foreign merchants were invited to do the ſame, and, to induce them, large abatements were offered in the cuſtom duties. Theſe promiſes, however, though ſolemnly made, were not ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerved.

This city, which was begun in 1760, is now compleatly finiſhed: it contains a great number of houſes, handſomely and ſolidly built. The ſtreets are all ſtraight lines, and there is no town in the empire

in which we ſee ſuch a regularity of plan*. It is ſurrounded with walls, and batteries are erected, not only on the ſea ſide but toward the land, to defend it from any incurſion of the ſouthern Moors. In caſe of an attack, however, this city, which has no water, and is half a league diſtant from the river, would ſoon be at the mercy of the enemy.

The preſent Emperor has brought all the European merchants to ſettle at Mogodor; and, diſtant as it is from Europe, it is the only port on the coaſt which maintains a continued commercial intercourſe with that quarter of the world. This city ſtands on marſhy ground, and ſo low that, at ſpring-tides, it is almoſt ſurrounded by the ſea. The country about it

* A French engineer, named Cornut, from the country near Avignon, who, ſeeking his fortune, croſſed from Gibraltar to Morocco, laid the foundations of the town of Mogodor. He was kindly received by the Emperor, who deſired to diſtinguiſh his reign by the foundation of a new city; but after ten years ſervice this engineer returned to France as poor as he went. The city was afterwards finiſhed by renegadoes and maſons brought from Europe.

is

is a melancholy desert of accumulated ſand. The Europeans, however, enjoy here the advantage of a more eaſy communication with the ſouthern provinces, which, by exchanging their productions for the commodities of Europe, render the trade of this place very flouriſhing.

The port of Mogodor is formed by a channel, between the main land and an iſland more than a mile in length. The entrance of this channel is to the north weſt, and its outlet to the ſouth. It is ſufficiently large for ſhips of a middling ſize, but in general it has not ſufficient depth; which diſadvantage is increaſed every day by the accumulation of the ſand. The number of ſhips which have been loſt in this port in winter, by violent ſtorms from the ſouth weſt, ſufficiently prove how very dangerous it is in bad weather.

Following the coaſt, to the ſouth, about thirty-five leagues from Mogodor, we arrive at the town of Santa Cruz, in the province of Suz, called by the Arabs Aguadir,

Aguadir, or Cape Aguer. The ſpacious bay of this place and the neighbouring ſea abound greatly in fiſh. A Portugueſe gentleman built a wooden houſe on this coaſt for the purpoſe of fiſhing, and found it a very profitable undertaking. The Moors called this place *El dar del Roomi*; that is, the houſe of the Roman. Don Emanuel, King of Portugal, perceiving the importance of this poſt for the preſervation of the conqueſts he had already made, and facilitating thoſe he meditated, bought the ground about the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and built there a fortreſs called Santa Cruz, which was taken from the Portugueſe in 1536. This town was long the centre of an extenſive commerce, and different European nations had ſeveral factories there till 1773, when the Emperor obliged them to remove to Mogodor, after demoliſhing the fortifications of Santa Cruz. It has been imagined that this Prince, whoſe character is ſuch that no very certain judgement can be formed of the motives of his actions, was induced to this meaſure for fear the Spaniards ſhould beſiege Santa Cruz, while he was occupied

pied in the ſiege of Melilla, which he undertook in 1774.

The port of Santa Cruz is a large and very ſecure bay, capable of containing a great number of ſhips, and well defended from the wind on every ſide. The communication between this place and the ſouthern provinces renders it more convenient for commerce than any other on the coaſt.

Beyond Santa Cruz there is no frequented port. The country of Tarudant, which is to the ſouth of this place, and which is a part of the province of Suz, is the ſouthern boundary of the Empire of Morocco.

The country of Vled de Nun, which is next to the province of Suz, is ſeparated from it by ſandy deſerts. The Emperor of Morocco, indeed, as I have obſerved at the beginning of this chapter, arrogates to himſelf the ſovereignty of Vled de Nun; but his real authority is here extremely feeble. This vaſt, but deſert, province affords

fords not a single harbour or anchoring place along a coast of sixty leagues, that is, quite to cape Bajador. It is inhabited by different tribes of Arabs, whose camps are scattered over such parts of the interior country as are capable of cultivation. The side next the sea is a sandy shore, lined with rocks under water, over which the waves break violently. Ships are often driven on this coast by rapid currents formed between the Continent and the Canary islands, and Spanish, English, and French vessels, are frequently shipwrecked*. When such a misfortune happens the fate of the unhappy mariners is most deplorable; they are immediately seized and stripped by the Arabs, who, not-

* These accidents, which may depend on a concatenation of unlucky circumstances, have often been occasioned by the ignorance of the mariners, as we may be convinced from the deposition of those who have escaped after shipwreck. They might be prevented, by subjecting vessels destined for the coast of Africa to pass to the west of the Canaries, and especially by examining, with more severity, the orders of Captains, and supplying ships, intended to make long voyages, with three officers capable of command, the Captain included.

withſtanding the laws obſerved among themſelves in their robberies, take from each other their ſlaves and booty by open force. Their wretched priſoners are expoſed to hunger, thirſt, the caprices of their maſters, and every humiliation of miſery. To the ſhame of humanity, they are bought and ſold, and frequently exchanged for camels, or other beaſts, in the markets of the deſerts. The Emperor of Morocco uſes all his influence to procure theſe unfortunate ſufferers to be delivered up to him; but the ſlowneſs of the negociations, and the obſtacles met with at every ſtep, render their iſſue very uncertain; and ſhould they even be ſurrendered to this Prince, his juſtice and generoſity muſt again be long, and patiently ſolicited, before they are finally ſet at liberty *.

In theſe ſouthern climates Mahometaniſm is mixed with more ſuperſtitions than even among the people of Morocco. The

* The ſeamen of a ſhip from Nantz, in the Guinea trade, which was ſhipwrecked on this coaſt about the end of the year 1775, were two years before they returned to France.

heat

heat inflaming the imagination multiplies the number of fanatics, who, under the name of ſaints, impoſe on the piety and credulity of the people. They have neither moſques nor any ſtated places for their prayers, but pray in their tents, or wherever they happen to be; and, when they want water, make their ablutions with ſand, as is permitted them by their law. The ſpirit of pillage keeps the people of theſe countries in conſtant motion; they traverſe the deſerts quite to Nigritia, whence they even carry off the Negroes. They regulate their route, and judge of their approach to rivers by the flight of certain birds.

The province of Vled de Nun has a conſiderable trade. After having paſſed the deſerts, that ſeparate it from Morocco, we find many tracts of land capable of cultivation, and which produce gums and excellent wax. As theſe people are ſo far removed from the reach of tyranny as to live in a kind of independence, luxuries are more indulged among them; and they make uſe of many European commodi-

ties, especially linen. Several of these Arab tribes are more affable and honest than the other Moors. They trade to Mogodor, but with reserve and circumspection, that they may not expose their riches to the uncertainty of accident. It is probable they have a more immediate communication with the factories of Senegal, with which they may trade with less restraint; and it is only by their means that the western Moors have any intercourse with the people of Nigritia. If it were practicable to form settlements on the coast of cape Bajador, a very profitable commerce might be established with these Arabs; and mariners, who might have the misfortune to be shipwrecked on the coast, would be able to obtain more certain and speedy assistance; but such a plan is exposed to too many difficulties ever to be realized.

As a knowledge of the coast of Morocco is of more utility than descriptions of the inland towns, I have treated this subject more at length; but I shall now proceed to enumerate the cities of the interior pro-

provinces, which are not many in number, returning from the south to the north,

CHAP. IV.

Inland Cities and Towns of the Empire of Morocco.

THE city of Tarudant, in the province of Suz, is ſituated almoſt at the extremity of the empire of Morocco. It was formerly the capital of a ſmall kingdom, and is at preſent the reſidence of a governor, in whom great confidence is repoſed, or ſome Sharif related to the Emperor. This province alſo contains the cities of Climi, Aguadir-Toma, and ſeveral other towns, which, as well as Tarudant, are built with ſtone. As the province of Suz has no harbours, the Moors carry its productions to Mogodor.

Morocco, which has become the metropolis of the empire, and given name to it, was formerly the capital of the kingdom of Morocco, which was bounded by the river Om-Arbaym, or Morbeya. This city is twenty

twenty leagues from the ſea, to the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt of Saffi, and a ſmall diſtance from Mount Atlas. It is built nearly in the ſituation, where the ancients placed the Bocanum Hemerum.

Abu Teſſifin, firſt King of the Moors, of the race of the *Morabetboon*, or Maraboots, firſt fixed his reſidence at the city of Agmet, on the weſtern declivity of Mount Atlas, a little diſtance from Morocco. Deſiring to found a capital for his dominions in a more eligible ſituation, he choſe the ſpot where Morocco now ſtands, which is called by the Arabs Marrakeſch, and by the Spaniards Marrueccos. This city was begun by that Prince in 1052, and continued by his ſon and ſucceſſor Joſeph Ben Abu Teſſifin, who kept his court here. Its walls are extremely thick, and formed of a cement, compoſed of lime and ſand, which is put in caſes, and beaten with rammers. This mortar hardens in time, and turns to ſtone, eſpecially when the compoſition is well made, and contains a ſufficient quantity of lime *.

* The Spaniards uſe this mortar, and, like the Moors, call

The city of Morocco* is situated in a pleasant plain, planted with palm trees, having Mount Atlas to the east, which has a fine and romantic effect. The numerous streams which meander through this fertile plain render it capable of the highest cultivation. It was formerly divided into a prodigious number of enclosed gardens and beautiful plantations of olive trees, which have, in part, escaped the barbarous devastations of contending factions. More than six thousand springs poured their waters from Mount Atlas to fructify and enrich this plain, which was filled with country houses and pleasure grounds; but these have been all laid in ruins by the revolutions which preceded and distin-

call it Tapia: hence, perhaps, the French derive the word Taper; that is, to strike upon, or beat with the hand. This, probably, was the manner of building among the ancients. Livy informs us, the walls of Saguntum were built with mortar made of earth.

* According to Marmol and Martiniere there was an ancient city called Morocco, mentioned in the Roman history, which Marmol names Tamaroc. It was situated on the river Morbeya, has been destroyed, and now no traces of it remain.

guished

guiſhed the reign of Muley Iſhmael; and it was with difficulty, that, in 1768, the courſe of twelve hundred ſtreams, which wind through this fertile country was renewed. The city of Morocco itſelf, expoſed to the devaſtations of different conquerors, has preſerved nothing but its form. The extent of the walls, which ſtill exiſt entire, except in ſome few places, ſuppoſes a city, which might contain three hundred thouſand ſouls: at preſent this capital is little better that a Deſert. The ruins of houſes, heaped one upon another, ſerve only to harbour thieves, who lurk among them to rob the paſſenger. The quarters, which have been rebuilt, are conſiderably diſtant from each other; and the houſes are low, dirty, and extremely inconvenient. It is difficult to conceive how an imperial city can have become ſo miſerable and ſo deſerted. I doubt whether it contains thirty thouſand inhabitants, even when the court is there.

Morocco poſſeſſes ſeveral large moſques, but they have no pretenſions to magnificence. One of theſe has a tower ſimilar to

to thoſe at Sallee and Seville, and which may be ſeen at a very great diſtance. Within the walls are a number of large encloſed ſpaces, almoſt entirely detached, containing gardens of orange trees, and pavilions, in which the princes lodge. Theſe pavilions, covered with coloured tiles, are the more remarkable, as the gaiety and ſplendor of their appearance form a ſtriking contraſt with the wretchedneſs and poverty of the ſurrounding buildings.

Among the number of the public edifices at Morocco, we muſt not forget to mention the Elcaiſſeria *, a place where ſtuffs, and other valuable commodities, are expoſed to ſale. We find ſimilar buildings in all the other cities of the empire; but in Barbary they are by no means equal to thoſe of the ſame kind in Turkey called Bezeſtins.

At the extremity of the city of Morocco, and very near the palace, is the

* Elcaiſſeria is only a corruption of the word Cæſarea.

quarter

quarter of the Jews, inclosed by walls near two miles round, where the Jews reside, under the guard of an Alçaid, to protect them from insult. This same quarter was formerly the residence of the Spanish nobles, or others of that nation, who, from discontent, or other motives, entered into the service of the Kings of Morocco; and there is still a part of the city, called the quarter of Andalusia. Not less than three thousand Jewish families formerly resided here, as may be estimated by the ruins of houses and synagogues. Of this great number there at present scarcely remain two hundred families, exposed to tyranny and poverty; oppression has obliged all the rest to take refuge among the mountains, where they live more at their ease, notwithstanding the ferocity of the inhabitants of that part of the country.

The Emperor's palace, at the extremity of the city of Morocco, fronting Mount Atlas, is a very extensive and solid building. The principal gates are gothic arches of cut stone, embellished with ornaments in the Arabian taste. Within the walls

are various courts and gardens, elegantly laid out by European gardeners. In each of these gardens is a pavilion, to which the Emperor frequently retires to take his repose, or amuse himself with his courtiers. These pavilions are square pyramidal edifices, about forty feet in length, and somewhat less in heighth: they are covered with varnished tiles, of various colours; the inside is a kind of spacious hall, that receives light and air from four large doors, in the four sides, which are opened, more or less, according to the position of the sun, or the coolness they may produce. These halls within are painted and gilt in the stile we call arabesque, and ornamented with cartouches, containing passages of the Koran, or other Arabic sentences. The furniture of these apartments is very simple; it consists only of a couch, some arm chairs, tables, and china, or other embellishments; tea equipage, clocks, arms hung round the walls, a water pot, and carpets for prayers.

The pavilion, containing apartments for the Emperor and his women, is in one

of

of theſe gardens. This is a very ſpacious building, according to the uſual way of living among the Moors; for the taſte of different nations, in this reſpect, always depends on their manners and cuſtoms. The furniture of this palace diſplays no ſplendid ornaments, but is in a ſtile of the greateſt ſimplicity. Theſe climates are unacquainted with that profuſion of fantaſtic novelties which are every day multiplied by the induſtry, luxury, and caprice of Europe.

The preſent Emperor, who has ſhewn an excluſive preference to the city of Morocco, had added to his palace a large piece of ground, on which he has cauſed to be built, by Europeans, regular pavilions, in the midſt of gardens. Theſe are of cut ſtone, have handſome windows, are finiſhed in an excellent taſte, and give an air of grandeur and magnificence to this part of the palace which we do not ſee any where elſe. Between theſe pavilions and the old palace is a large vacant ſpace, incloſed with walls, called Meſhooar, where the Emperor gives public audience four times

times in a week. This place is entered from without the town by a large gate, which is only opened an hour before the Meſhooar.

Mount Atlas, the boundary of the plain of Morocco, is ſituated at a ſmall diſtance to the eaſt of the city. This is the higheſt part of that mountain, the vallies of which, flouriſhing with trees and verdure, and contraſted with the ſnows on the ſummit, have a ſingular and picturesque effect. This chain of mountains defends the environs of Morocco from the eaſt wind, which would be burning in ſummer, while the ſnows, that cover their tops, temper, at the ſame time, the heat of the climate. The nights there are conſtantly cool, and it is only from nine in the morning, till four or five in the afternoon, that any great heat is felt. The cold is ſenſibly felt in the winter, becauſe of the ſnow which falls on the mountains; but the climate is extremely healthy. Foreigners, however, do not find Morocco an agreeable reſidence, for the houſes are inconvenient and full of bugs; and, in ſummer, the multi-

multitudes of scorpions, serpents, and gnats, are inexpressly troublesome.

About a league from Morocco is the river Tansif, which rises in Mount Atlas, and falls into the Atlantic Ocean, a little to the south of Saffi. This river may be forded in the fine season; it has, however, a bridge of brick, of considerable length, but not kept in repair, built about the end of the sixteenth century by the Portuguese slaves, who survived the defeat of the army of Don Sebastian.

Beside the streams which rise in Mount Atlas, and flow through the country round Morocco, some writers have described as a wonderful work, the aqueducts that bring water to the city and its environs; these, however, are only subterranean conduits, open at intervals, rudely made, and sunken in the earth about fifteen or twenty feet, according to the level of the ground. It is impossible to survey, without veneration, these first efforts of the industry of mankind, that seem to remind us of the birth of the arts; but we are not to confound

found or compare theſe barbarous works with other monuments of the ſame kind, which are ſuch noble proofs of the improvements in thoſe ſame arts, and the magnificence of nations.

At a little diſtance from Morocco, on the weſtern declivity of Mount Atlas, ſtand the city of Agmet, which was for ſome time the reſidence of the firſt Kings of Morocco, that of Aminey, and ſeveral wretched villages, inhabited by Jews, who have fled from the capital to avoid oppreſſion and extortion. The ſoil of this whole country is very fertile, as are all the vallies of theſe noble mountains, which are inhabited by the Brebes, or Berebs, who are almoſt independant.

After Muley Iſhmael had united the ſmall kingdoms which form the empire, he determined to have two imperial cities, that he might the more eaſily keep his people in ſubjection, by removing alternately from one to the other. Morocco was the imperial city of the ſouth; and Mequinez, which that prince greatly embelliſhed and

and enlarged, became the metropolis in the north.

The city of Mequinez is ſituated at the extremity of the province of Beni-Haſſen, eighty leagues north of Morocco, and twenty leagues eaſt of Sallee and the ſea. The founder of this city, named Maknaſſa, firſt built it at the bottom of a valley; but Muley Iſhmael made it conſiderably larger, by building in the plain to the weſt. The city is ſurrounded by vallies and eminences highly cultivated, ornamented with gardens and plantations of olive trees, and watered by a variety of ſtreams; the fruits and vegetables therefore are of an excellent flavour. The inhabitants themſelves, by an increaſe of civility, ſeem to prove the milder temperature of the climate. The winter, indeed, is very diſagreeable from the quantity of mud which then accumulates in this city and the environs, becauſe the ſtreets are not paved, and the ſoil is clay.

The city of Mequinez is ſurrounded with walls; the palace itſelf is fortified

with two baſtions, in which there formerly was ſome ſmall artillery. Muley Iſhmael and Muley Abdallah have often defended themſelves in this city againſt the utmoſt efforts of the Brebes, when they have conſpired againſt their tyranny. On the weſtern ſide are ſtill to be ſeen ſome walls of circumvallation, ſix feet in height, which probably were only intrenchments for the infantry, as the attacks of the Brebes were merely ſudden and momentary incurſions, which did not require any long defence.

There is in Mequinez, as in Morocco, a quarter walled in and guarded for the Jews. The houſes are handſomer here than in that at Morocco; the Jews are more numerous, and make greater profit by their induſtry, becauſe the Moors of Mequinez are richer, and, as they are nearer, have a greater intercourſe with Europe than thoſe of the ſouthern provinces.

Contiguous to the quarter of the Jews is another, incloſed with walls, but now in ruins, called the negro town. It was built

by Muley Ifhmael for the families of his black foldiers. Nothing now remains of it but the walls, as is the cafe with all the places intended for the fame purpofe throughout the empire.

At the extremity of the city, on the fouth-eaft fide, is the Emperor's palace, built by Muley Ifhmael after a plan of his own *. This is a very extenfive building, including feveral gardens, well laid out, and watered by abundant ftreams. I have vifited every part of this palace by permiffion of the Emperor; for, without that, it may not be entered. There is a large garden in the centre, furrounded by a fpacious and tolerably regular gallery, fupported by columns, which maintains a communication between the apartments. Thofe of the women, which are much lefs peopled than they were in the reign of Muley Ifhmael, are very large, and terminate in one common chamber, built on a caufeway

* This palace was greatly damaged by the earthquake, which deftroyed Lifbon, November 1, 1755.

that divides the great garden, where the women may look out at the window through an iron lattice. As we pafs from one apartment to another, we meet at intervals with regular courts, paved with fquares of black and white marble. In the middle of thefe courts is a marble bafon, on which is raifed a round fhell; in the centre of this is a fountain that plays into the bafon. There are many fuch fountains, in the palace, that fupply water for various purpofes, and thofe ablutions which the fcruples of the Mahometans have fo multiplied, efpecially thofe preceding their prayers, which, on common days, they repeat in the place where they happen to be; but on Fridays they are obliged to go to the mofque.

The palaces of the Moorifh Kings are the more fpacious as all the apartments are on the ground floor. Thefe are large, long, narrow rooms, eighteen or twenty feet high. They are but little ornamented, and receive light and air from two large folding doors, that are opened, more or lefs, as occafion requires. The apartments always

always receive light from a ſquare court, the ſides of which, with few exceptions, are embelliſhed by collonades.

They make at Mequinez and Fez a kind of glazed tiles, ſimilar to what we call Dutch tiles, of different colours; theſe they uſe to pave their rooms and face their walls, whence their houſes have an air of coolneſs and neatneſs we do not meet with in other towns of the empire.

The Moors of Mequinez are much more affable and engaging than thoſe of the ſouthern provinces. They are very civil to ſtrangers, inviting them to their gardens, and entertaining them with the utmoſt politeneſs. The women in this part of the empire are extremely handſome; they are very fair, have fine black eyes, and beautiful teeth. I have ſometimes ſeen them taking the air on their terraces; they do not hide themſelves from the Europeans; but if a Moor appears, they retire immediately.

There is, both at Mequinez and Morocco,

a hoſpitium, or convent, of Spaniſh recollects, founded more than a hundred years ago, by the munificence of the Kings of Spain, for the benefit and ſpiritual comfort of the Chriſtian captives. Theſe two convents are much reſpected in the country, both for the exemplary lives of the fathers, and the ſervice they are of to the poor, whom they ſupply with medicines, gratis. As their charity, however, was much abuſed, becauſe the Moors, who are fond of remedies they do not pay for, made an indiſcreet uſe of them, without obſerving any regimen, the friar, who acts as apothecary, compoſed a mixture of water, honey, and a few ſimples, which is refuſed to nobody, and called the Decoction, or Ptiſan, of the Sharif. The Moors have recourſe to the fathers, whenever they are indiſpoſed, which expoſes the latter to many inconveniences, when their endeavours are not ſucceſsful.

Beſides the cities of Morocco and Mequinez, which are two imperial cities, that of Fez is alſo one of the principal in the empire. It even ought to have precedence

of

of thoſe two capitals, as it is the more ancient, and gave name to the firſt monarchy in Africa, after the Moors had embraced Mahometaniſm. It is, beſides, the only city in the empire diſtinguiſhed by a taſte for the ſciences, and the induſtry of its inhabitants.

The city of Fez, the capital of the kingdom of the ſame name, was built about the end of the eighth century by Edris, the deſcendant of Mahomet and Ali, whoſe father, flying from Medina to avoid the proſcriptions of the Caliph Abdallah, retired to the extremity of Africa, and was proclaimed ſovereign by the Moors. Sidy Edris, ſucceeding to the crown of his father, founded the city of Fez in 793, and built the moſque in which he is buried. From that time the city of Fez has been conſidered by the Moors as a ſacred aſylum, and an object of devotion. In the firſt moments of that zeal which every religious novelty inſpires, a ſtill larger moſque was built at Fez, and called Carubin, becauſe it was founded by the Arabs of Cairoan. This is one of the fineſt edifices in the

empire, and, perhaps, in Africa. Many other mosques were faterwards built successively at Fez; to which were annexed, according to the custom of the Mahometans, colleges and hospitals; and this city was held in so high a degree of veneration that, when the pilgrimage to Mecca was interrupted, in the fourth century of the Hejira, the western Mahometans, as a substitute, repaired to Fez, while the eastern journeyed to Jerusalem.

When the Arabs had extended themselves in Asia, Africa, and Europe, they brought to Fez the knowledge they had acquired in the arts and sciences; and, to its religious schools, this capital added academies for philosophy, physic, and astronomy. The latter insensibly degenerated; ignorance gave credit to astrology, the constant companion of superstition, which, in its turn, gave birth to the arts of magic and divination.

Fez, resorted to from almost all Africa, and the object of the devout pilgrimages of the Mahometans, soon became the rendez-
vous

vous of the neighbouring provinces. The increaſe of wealth introduced the love of pleaſure, and every ſpecies of luxury; licentiouſneſs quickly followed; and as its progreſs in hot countries is always moſt rapid, Fez, the ſchool of ſciences and manners, ſoon became the ſink of every vice. The public baths, which health, cleanlineſs, and cuſtom, rendered neceſſary, became the receptacles of debauchery, into which men were introduced in the dreſs of women; and the youth of the city ranged the ſtreets, after ſun ſet, in the ſame diſguiſe, to prevail upon ſtrangers to go with them to the inns, which were rather houſes of proſtitution than places for the convenience and repoſe of travellers.

The uſurpers, who, after the tenth century, diſputed the kingdom of Fez, connived at theſe abuſes, and contented themſelves with ſubjecting the maſters of the inns to furniſh a number of cooks for the army. To this indulgence the city of Fez owed its firſt ſplendor, and the greater part of its riches. As the inhabitants were handſome and engaging, the Africans reſorted

ſorted thither in crouds; and the ſubverſion of all morals became a pretended ſource of political advantage. The ſame depraved inclinations ſtill exiſt in the hearts of all the Moors, though libertiniſm is no longer authoriſed; but there, as every where elſe, is ſo far ſtigmatiſed with ſhame as to bluſh at a diſcovery.

The Mahometans of Andaluſia, Grenada, and Cordova, during the revolutions of Spain, paſſed over to Fez, whither they brought new manners, knowledge, and, perhaps, ſome ſhades of civilization. They taught the Spaniſh method of dreſſing and dying red and yellow goat and ſheep ſkins, then called Cordovan leather, now Morocco, from the city of that name, where, however, the dye is leaſt in perfection. At Fez, likewiſe, they firſt eſtabliſhed the manufacture of milled woollen caps, worn by the Moors and Eaſtern nations *. Gauzes, ſilks, ſtuffs, and beautiful ſaſhes,

* Theſe ſugar-loaf caps are called Fez by the Turks, which proves they were named from this city. The people of

ſaſhes, wrought in gold and ſilver, are made at Fez; and the little they do proves how much might be done, were induſtry encouraged.

Some love of learning is ſtill preſerved at Fez, where Arabic is better ſpoken than in the other parts of the empire: the rich Moors ſend their children to the ſchools of Fez, where they gain more inſtruction than they could do elſewhere. Leo Africanus, informs us, that there was a prize in his time appointed for the beſt poem written by the ſcholars in praiſe of Mahomet, and that the prize poems were examined on the birth day of the Prophet. Clenard went to Fez in 1540 to ſtudy more perfectly the Arabic tongue. He ſays, that there were many men of letters there at that time, that Grammar was taught in the ſchools, and that the remainder of their ſtudies related to their reli-

of Tunis have brought the manufacturing of them to perfection, which has been leſs ſucceſsfully attempted in France.

gion

gion and ceremonies. He adds, there were no bookſellers at Fez, but that, at certain ſeaſons of the year, ſales were held on the Friday in the Grand Moſque, and that the Moors cheapened without a deſire to buy.

Leo Africanus has given a deſcription of the city of Fez in the ſixteenth century, which has been faithfully copied by Marmol; and it appears, that the narratives of thoſe who have written voyages and travels in their ſtudies have tranſcribed theſe writers. Leo Africanus, born at Grenada, and educated at Fez, having, while very young, been taken at ſea, was conveyed to Rome. The little knowledge and taſte he poſſeſſed, for taſte can only be acquired by habits of ſeeing and comparing the moſt perfect models, did not ſuffer him to perceive all the beauties of that capital; and, prepoſſeſſed by the impreſſions his memory ſtill retained, he wrote a very florid deſcription of Fez. I had every liberty of examining this city, which is one of the moſt agreeable of the Mooriſh empire; but the minute circumſtances related by

by Leo are unworthy the attention of the traveller. The mosque of Carubin is the only remarkable public building, and that cannot be freely examined. The city contains some tolerably convenient inns, two or three stories high, with galleries toward the court, which is always in the centre, and admits light to the apartments. They have no appearance of grandeur whatever toward the streets, which are ill paved, and so narrow, that in many places two horsemen cannot ride abreast. Their shops make no shew, and should rather be called stalls, there being just room enough for a sedentary Moor, who never moves, and the packets that are heaped round him, to which he points as passengers arrive. Fez, which, in past ages, attracted the attention of travellers, is no way preferable to the other cities of the empire, except by its situation, schools, industry, and somewhat more of urbanity: yet, though more polished than their countrymen, the Moors of Fez are vain, superstitious, and intolerant. The Saints, whom they pretend have been buried in that city, serve them for a pretext to forbid its entrance to Jews

and

and Chriſtians ; and an order from the Emperor is neceſſary to gain admiſſion.

The ſituation of Fez is remarkable for its ſingularity ; it is ſeated at the bottom of a valley, and ſurrounded by hills in the form of a funnel, flattened at the narrow end. The upper part of the valley is divided into gardens, planted with high trees, orange groves, and orchards. A river winds along the valley, watering it in various directions, turning by its declivity a number of mills, and ſupplying water in abundance to all the gardens and moſt of the houſes. The deſcending road impeded by, and entangled among, theſe gardens, is much lengthened. The city ſtands in the centre of a vaſt circumference, the variety of which is exceedingly agreeable.

The gardens ſeen from the city form a moſt delightful amphitheatre. Each garden formerly had its country houſe, where the inhabitants paſſed their ſummer ; but theſe have been deſtroyed by their civil wars, and thoſe revolutions in which Fez and its environs have been the ſcene of action ;

action; while few of them were afterward rebuilt. By order of the Prince Muley Ali, eldeſt ſon of the emperor, I was moſt agreeably lodged at one of theſe gardens. This Prince gave me an entertainment in another garden, through the middle of which the river paſſed, its banks ornamented by a row of trees, and under a pavilion, erected with taſte. Such ſituations are every where charming, and eſpecially ſo in hot climates, where water, though more neceſſary, is more uncommon. The ſituation of Fez, however, cannot be healthy; the humidity of its vapours renders the air heavy in ſummer, and fevers there are rather common.

Ever ready to change their maſter, the inhabitants of Fez, at each revolution, yield to the firſt approaching conqueror: this they pretend is a privilege they enjoy from the founder of their city. It is, however very inefficacious, and only ſerves to prove either the cowardice of its inhabitants or the difficulty of defence. Fez, in reality, is ſo ſituated as to be unable to make

make any resistance without exposing itself to total destruction.

On the height of Old Fez, in a plain capable of great cultivation, Jacob-Ben-Abdallah, of the race of Beni-Merins, built, in the thirteenth century, New Fez, contiguous to the Old, and, by its situation, keeping the latter in awe. The high town, which is well and healthily situated, contains some old palaces, in which the sons of the Emperor live. The Sovereign himself resides here when he pleases; but he prefers a separate palace, built by his father, Muley Abdallah, half a league from the city. The new town is inhabited by some Moorish families, but by still more Jews, who trade with old Fez, notwithstanding the contempt with which they are treated by the inhabitants: this contempt they endeavour to find a recompence for in their gains.

Turning to the left, on the road from Fez to Mequinez, we find a valley, where the river Rasalema, which runs to Fez, takes its rise; it issues from a rock eight

or

or ten feet above the level, in a ſtream; the contents of which is about three cubic feet, and cannot be more; ſo that, however heavy the rains may be, the river, during its ſhort courſe, is incapable of ſwell. Hence the city is never endangered by floods, although from the form of the valley it is a kind of continued water-fall. It waſhes the ramparts of new Fez, and turns a wheel twenty-four feet in diameter, by which the inhabitants, the Princes' palaces, and the appertaining gardens, are ſupplied with water. This wheel is turned by the current like that of a water mill, and has ſpaces, at intervals, which ſerve as buckets that are filled by the ſtream, and emptied, during their courſe, into a baſon on the top of the wall. The method is ſimple and cheap; but I think it can only ſucceed on rivers not liable to ſwells, and where the deſcent of the current is equal to the volume of water intended to be raiſed.

The diſtance from Fez to the ſea is about a hundred and twenty miles, and from Fez to Mequinez ſome thirty ſix; the road excellent, along a pleaſant plain, interſected

by rivulets, over which are bridges, and various canals cut to water the lands. This plain is surrounded by inhabited highlands, on which abundant crops might be produced, and the most charming landscapes formed. It is afflicting to behold climates of rich and fertile lands, the which lie waste, while men are obliged to conquer the obstacles of nature to gain subsistence among the mountains of Europe. The waters being abundant in this part of the empire, and the climate temperate, the vegetables produced are excellent. Rice is here cultivated, which has neither the whiteness nor taste of that coming from the Levant; and here they rear all kinds of fruit, and even cherries, which do not ripen in the other parts of the empire.

The communication between Fez and Mequinez is more easy than in many polished nations. Ready-saddled mules may be found at all hours of the day, which are returned after the journey to a place appointed. The pacing of the mules is not fatiguing, and in summer people go from Mequinez to Fez, and return in a day, good

good mules being able to travel theſe ſix-and-thirty miles in ſix hours.

On the weſtern ſide of the plain of Fez, in ſight of Mequinez, ſtands the mountain Zaaron, on which is a village conſecrated to Mahometan devotion. It contains the ſanctuary of Sidi Edris, who came from Medina at the end of the eighth century, introduced Mahometaniſm, and was the firſt ſovereign of his race in this part of Africa. This ſanctuary is an aſylum for malefactors, and never violated by the Emperor of Morocco.

After Morocco, Mequinez, and Fez, which are the principal inland cities of the empire, the only one remaining to be deſcibed is that of Alcaſſar-Quiber.

Alcaſſar-Quiber is a ſmall city, on the weſtern extremity of the province of Garb, three leagues to the eaſt of Laracha, ſituated on the river Lucos, and ſeparated from Arzilla by a continuance of vallies and plains, in one of which Don Sebaſtian, King of Portugal, loſt victory and life in

 1578.

1578. Alcaſſar is ſurrounded by gardens, in which are grown many very indifferent fruits. The river Lucos often overflows its banks in winter, and does great damage to the city and its neighbourhood; in the houſes of which it is not uncommon for the water, at ſuch times, to be two feet high.

This city, built in the twelfth century, owes its foundation to a ſingular event. The Emperor, Jacob Almonſor, who extended his domains in Africa, and even over the Mahometan provinces of Spain, was encamped in the plains of this city to enjoy the pleaſures of the chace. Having loſt himſelf one night, he was ſeated under a tree waiting the approach of day, when a fiſherman came by, who was returning to his hut. The King pretended he was one of his own attendants who had loſt his way, and wiſhed to be conducted to the camp. The fiſherman pleaded bad weather, the danger of a country abounding in marſhes, and begged this pretended ſtray attendant would, without ſcruple, come and partake what his cottage

tage could afford. They ſet out on the morrow, and, having met the guards, who were in ſearch of the Emperor, Almonſor made himſelf known, and aſked his hoſt what recompence he wiſhed to receive. I wiſh, ſaid the fiſherman, to have a houſe inſtead of a hut, in which, ſhould occaſion offer, I might welcome a loſt ſportſman. The Emperor erected a palace on the ſpot where he reſided when he came to hunt; the charge and ſtewardſhip of which he gave to the fiſherman. The grandees and courtiers eagerly built houſes around it, and a little city ſoon aroſe. It contains at preſent near a thouſand families, and has preſerved its name of Alcaſſar-Quiber; that is to ſay, grand palace, to diſtinguiſh it from Alcaſſar-Seguer, or little palace, which this Prince alſo built on the ſea ſhore of the ſtraits of Gibraltar.

Alcaſſar-Quiber was beſieged by the Portugueſe in 1503; but, the Moors coming to its relief, they were forced to renounce the attempt.

Excluſive of theſe four inland cities,

 there

there are ſome other towns toward the ſouth, which lie out of the way, and the ſituations of which remain undetermined.

On the far ſide of the kingdom of Fez, in the province of Shaus, or Chaus, near the river Mulluvia, is a walled town, called Dubudu, on a height, ſurrounded by fertile vallies. This town, ſuppoſed to have been built by the ancient Africans, was a conſiderable place in the ſixteenth century, when the race of Merini reigned at Fez. At preſent it contains few inhabitants, though it has a garriſon and a confidential Alcayde to guard the frontier.

Between Fez and the province of Rif ſtands the caſtle of Teſa, pleaſantly ſituated, and ſurrounded by charming vales. This was formerly a populous town, but now, like the preceding, contains few inhabitants, with a governor, and ſome ſoldiers.

In moſt of the provinces are walled caſtles without artillery, in which the Baſhaws and

and Governors live, and many more, wholly uninhabited, and falling to ruin. That of Mediona, in the province of Temsena, two days journey from Sallee, is inhabited by some Moors and Jewish families, where they fabricate *Haiks* and coarse carpets. Another has been built at some distance to curb the mountaineers of Shavoya, who often ravage the country.

One of the most remarkable, from its situation, the resistance it might be able to make, and the labour bestowed on it, is the castle of Bulahuan, in the province of Duquella, on the banks of the Morbeya. This castle stands in a wild and barren spot, on the summit of a commanding eminence more than two hundred feet high, forming a pyramid, the angles of which are rounded, while a large river runs beneath, that, from its depth and rapidity, inspires a kind of horror.

This castle was built at the close of the thirteenth century by Muley Abdulmomen, first king of the race of the Moahedins; but Muley Abdallah, son of Muley

Iſhmael, made large additions; and, during the different revolutions that diſturbed his reign, he was here often beſieged by the revolted Moors of the northern provinces. This Prince had ſubterranean paſſages dug at a great expence to procure water from the river; but as he could not ſecure his water-carriers from the fire of the muſketry, he built conduits, which brought the waters from the neighbouring mountains; and the ruins of which are ſtill viſible on the road from Bulahuan to Morocco.

I lodged in this caſtle, in 1781, ſpite of the reſiſtance of ſome negroes, to whom the keeping of it was entruſted. The apartments are long and high. The proſpect from the terraces loſes itſelf on the immenſe plains of Duquella, which are only ſeen with pleaſure when covered with green berbage; for a day's journey may be gone without ſight of a ſingle tree. Near the caſtle is a village, and another before paſſing the river; each of which contains about two hundred houſes, or thatched huts, being piles of rough-hewn ſtone without mortar. Both theſe villages, inhabited

habited by Moors, are exempt from taxes, but are obliged to give the neceſſary aſſiſtance in croſſing the river.' The lonely ſituation of this caſtle, naked and expoſed to every wind that blows, and the barrenneſs of the ſandy valley in which it ſtands, inſpire a kind of gloomy horror. But, on the contrary, with equal pleaſure and aſtoniſhment, well-cultivated gardens are ſeen below, on the banks of the river, with their orchards and vineyards. Each garden contains a windlaſs and a bucket neceſſary to ſupply it with water.

Among barbarous people like theſe, who have no idea of the arts, we are taught to diſtinguiſh, with more preciſion, the diſtance there is between nations, and the power which neceſſity has in awakening the inventive faculties of man. The paſſage over the river is another proof to the ſame effect. The only ferry boat is a raft, compoſed, for the occaſion, of reeds, to which ſkins full of wind are tied with cords, made from the palm leaf. This is ſuſtained by ſeveral Moors, who, ſwimming, guide and ſupport it by their ſhoulders,

ders, though the rapidity of the current is ſuch as to drive it down the ſtream a mile in an inſtant *. On this crazy raft travellers and their effects are tranſported. The mules ſwim acroſs, driven by the muleteers. In September 1781, the waters being low, becauſe of the heats, I forded this rapid river; a thing which had not happened before for five-and-twenty years.

The Emperor uſually paſſes the Morbeya above Bulahuan, where the ſtream is leſs rapid, on a kind of temporary bridge. It is formed of two thick oſier cables, faſtened to large piles on each bank of the river. Theſe cables are formed into a kind of hurdle by croſs ſtakes paſſed through them of about five feet long, and over which ſods, ſix inches thick, are laid. This bridge, in conſequence of its own weight, reſts, and is ſupported by the current in the middle; it has indeed

* We read in Livy, that, during the ſecond Punic war, when Hannibal went from Spain to Italy, a part of his army paſſed the Rhone, the Ticinus, and the Po, on goat ſkins filled with wind.

but



but little to bear, the Emperor not paſſing with a numerous train.

I have ſtill to ſpeak of the kingdom of Tafilet, of which I can give no very accurate idea, Europeans not being ſuffered to paſs through it. Tafilet extends along the eaſt ſide of Mount Atlas; its habitations conſiſt but of ſome fifteen hundred ſcattered houſes; ſeveral of which have a tower for defence, and each ſtanding amidſt an encloſure of gardens, cultivated grounds, and palm-tree plantations; the whole forming a variegated and pleaſant country, interſected by many rivers and rivulets deſcending from the eaſt of Mount Atlas, and which ſerve to water their lands. Their dates, which are very ſmall, but very excellent, conſtitute the wealth of, and are food for, the people, who even give them to their horſes. By ancient cuſtom, perhaps, for it is contrary to the precepts of the Coran, brandy is made in Tafilet of dates, which is exceedingly ſtrong, and drank ſo immoderately, by the Sharifs, that wine produces no effect on them whatever.

Tafilet is the abode of a race of the Sharifs, the moſt of which are poor. They employ themſelves in their grounds and gardens, and, being always divided among themſelves, the ſpirit of pillage inceſſantly arms the ſtrong againſt the weak. The town of Tafilet, after which the kingdom was named under the Sharifs of the reigning houſe, is not an ancient city. The name comes from the word *Fileli*, for ſo the inhabitants of theſe countries are called, as are the ſtuffs and carpets which are there manufactured. In the ſame territory is the town of Sugulmeſſa, which appears to have been known to the Romans. Leo Africanus ſays it was anciently called Meſſa, that is to ſay, victory; and that a Roman general, having there followed and vanquiſhed the Numidians, reſtored the town, and gave it the name of Sigillummeſſæ, or the ſeal of victory; whence comes Sugulmeſſa.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Climate and Soil of the Empire of Morocco.

THE climate of the Empire of Morocco is in general ſufficiently temperate, healthy, and not ſo hot as its ſituation might lead us to ſuppoſe. The chain of mountains which form Atlas, on the eaſtern ſide, defends it from the eaſt winds, that would ſcorch up the earth, were they frequent. The ſummit of theſe mountains is always covered with ſnow, which falls ſo heavily in winter as often to bury the *Brebes*, who inhabit theſe vallies. Their abundant deſcending ſtreams ſpread verdure through the neighbourhood, make the winter more cold, and temper the heats of ſummer. The ſea on the weſt ſide, which extends along the coaſt from north to ſouth, alſo refreſhes the land with regular breezes, that ſeldom vary, according to their ſeaſons. At a diſ-

diſtance from the ſea, within land, the heat is ſo great, that the rivulets become dry in ſummer; but, as in hot countries dews are plentiful, the nights are there always cool.

The rains are tolerably regular in winter, in the climate of Morocco, and are even abundant, though the atmoſphere is not loaded with clouds as in northern latitudes. Thoſe rains which fall by intervals are favourable to the earth, and increaſe its fecundity. In January the country is covered with verdure, and enamelled with flowers. Barley is cut in March, but the wheat harveſt is in June. All fruits are early in this climate; in forward years the vintage is over in the beginning of September, and I have eat grapes, tolerably ripe, on the thirtieth of May; but this was an extraordinary caſe.

Though in general there is more uniformity and leſs variation in hot than in northern climates, the firſt are nevertheleſs expoſed to the intemperance of weather: too heavy rains often impede the harveſt; and

and drowth has still greater inconveniences, for it ensures the propagation of locusts. These fatal insects, which have so often laid desolate hot countries, sometimes commit the most dreadful ravages in the empire of Morocco. They come from the south, spread themselves over the lands, and increase to infinity, when the rains of spring are not sufficiently heavy to destroy the eggs they deposit on the earth. The large locusts, which are near three inches long, are not the most destructive; as they fly, they yield to the current of wind, which hurries them into the sea, or into sandy deserts, where they perish with hunger or fatigue. The young locusts, that cannot fly, are the most ruinous; they are about fifteen lines in length, and the thickness of a goose-quill; they creep over the country in such multitudes, that they leave not a blade of grass behind; and the noise of their feeding announces their approach at some distance. The devastations of locusts increase the price of provisions, and often occasion famines; but the Moors find a kind of compensation in making food of these insects; prodi-

prodigious quantities are brought to market ſalted and dried like red herrings. They have an oily and rancid taſte, which habit only can render agreeable; they are eat here, however, with pleaſure.

The winters in Morocco are not ſevere, nor is there an abſolute need of fire. In the coldeſt weather the thermometer ſeldom ſinks to more than five degrees above the freezing point; and, during a long reſidence, I never ſaw it lower than to two degrees and an half. The inequality of climate felt at Paris is not found here; in the former there is ſometimes a variation of twenty-four degrees in twenty-four hours. This degree of variation, at Sallee, on the weſtern coaſt, is the exact difference between winter and ſummer. The longeſt days in Morocco are not more than fourteen hours, and the ſhorteſt conſequently not leſs than ten.

The ſoil of Morocco is exceedingly fertile; the land, light and ſandy on the weſtern coaſt, contains in itſelf ſalts ſufficient to make it fruitful. To theſe ſalts, and to the

the abundant dews, muſt we attribute a humidity almoſt corroſive, which, without making any ſenſible impreſſion on bodies, quickly covers with ruſt, iron, ſteel, metals, and even the keys and ſciſſors carried in the pocket; an effect never produced in northern latitudes. The ſoil is moſt fruitful in the inland provinces. On the weſtern coaſt it is in general light and ſtony, and is better adapted to the vine and olive than the culture of wheat. They annually burn, before the September rains, the ſtubble, which is left rather long; and this and the dung of cattle, every day turned to paſture, form the ſole manure the land receives. The ſoil requires but little labour, and the plowing is ſo light that the furrows are ſcarcely ſix inches deep; for which reaſon we perceive, in ſome provinces, wooden plough-ſhares are uſed for cheapneſs. It is no doubt a law of nature that, in hot climates, where men are little inclined to induſtry, there induſtry ſhould be leaſt neceſſary.

CHAP. VI.

Fruits, Productions, and Mines.

THE Empire of Morocco might ſupply itſelf with all neceſſaries, as well from the abundance and nature of its products as from the few natural or artificial wants of the Moors, occaſioned by climate or education. Its wealth conſiſts in the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil; its corn, fruits, flocks, flax, ſalt, gums, and wax, would not only ſupply its neceſſities, but yield a ſuperflux, which might become an object of immenſe trade and barter with other nations. Such numerous exports might return an inexhauſtible treaſure, were its government fixed and ſecure, and did ſubjects enjoy the fruits of their labour and their property in ſafety.

The increaſe of corn in Morocco is often as ſixty to one, and thirty is held to be but an indifferent harveſt. The exportation of

of this corn is burdened by the laws, and by the prejudices of an intolerant religion, which permit them not to ſell their ſuperabundance to infidels. The property of land is beſide entirely precarious, ſo. that each individual grows little more than ſufficient for his own wants. Hence it happens, when the harveſt fails, from the ravages of locuſts, or the intemperance of ſeaſons, theſe people are expoſed to miſery, ſuch as Europeans have no conception of; who enjoy a ſtable adminiſtration, which obviates and provides for all their wants. They alſo have intereſted conveniences and motives, and that confidence which is founded on the faith of civilized nations. They have the obligation of reciprocally aiding each other's wants on urgent occaſions, and rendering the moſt prompt and active ſuccour; all which cannot exiſt under governments ſo ſtrangely arbitrary as that of Morocco, where every thing is ſubordinate to the caprice of the Sovereign, and the law of the moment.

The Moors, naturally indolent, take little care of the culture of their fruits.

Oranges, lemons, and thick-ſkinned fruits, the trees of which require little nurture, grow in the open fields, and there are very large plantations of them found, which they take the trouble to water to increaſe their product. Their vines, which yield excellent grapes, are planted as far as the thirty-third degree, as in our ſouthern provinces, and are equally vigorous with ours. But at Morocco, where they yield a large and delicious grape, they are ſupported by vine-poles five and ſix feet above ground; and, as they are obliged to be watered, the little wine made there is ſeldom preſerved.

Figs are very good in ſome part of the empire, but toward the ſouth they are ſcarceley ripe before they are full of worms; the heats and night dews may, perhaps, contribute to this ſpeedy decay. Melons, for the ſame reaſon, are rarely eatable; they have but a moment of maturity, which paſſes ſo rapidly that it is with difficulty ſeized. Water melons are every where reared, and in ſome provinces are excellent. Apricots, apples, and pears, are

in tolerable plenty in the neighbourhood of Fez and Mequinez, where water is leſs ſcarce, and the climate more temperate. But in the plain, which extends along the weſtern coaſt, theſe delicate fruits are very indifferent, have leſs juice or taſte, and the peaches there do not ripen.

The tree called Raquette in France, or the prickly pear, or the Barbary fig, is plentifully found in the Empire of Morocco, and is planted round vineyards and gardens, becauſe that its thick and thorny leaves, which are wonderfully prolific, form impenetrable hedges. From theſe leaves a fruit is produced, covered with a thorny ſkin, that muſt be taken off with care. This fruit is mild, and full of very hard, ſmall, kernels. The Spaniards call it Toona, which leads us to ſuppoſe they received this plant from Tunis; and, as it may well have paſſed from Andaluſia among the weſtern Moors, the latter call it the Chriſtian fig, while in Europe it is more juſtly called the Barbary fig.

The olive is every where found along

the coaſt, but particularly to the ſouth. The trees are planted in rows, which form alleys the more agreeable becauſe the trees are large, round, and high in proportion. They take care to water them, the better to preſerve the fruit. Oil of olives might here be plentifully extracted, were taxation fixed and moderate; but, ſuch has been the variation it has undergone, that, the culture of olives is ſo neglected as ſarcely to produce oil ſufficient for internal conſumption. In 1768 and 1769 there were near forty thouſand quintals of oil exported from Mogodor and Santa-Cruz to Marſeilles, and ten years after it coſt fifteen pence per pound. Thus do the vices of government expoſe nations to dearth and famine, who live in the very boſom of abundance.

From the province of Duquella, to the ſouth of the empire, there are foreſts of the Arga tree, which is thorny, irregular in its form, and produces a ſpecies of almond exceedingly hard, with a ſkin as corroſive as that of wall-nuts. Its fruit conſiſts of two almonds, rough and bitter, from which an oil is produced very excellent for frying.

In

In order to uſe this oil, it muſt be purified by fire, and ſet in a flame, which muſt be ſuffered to die away of itſelf; the moſt greaſy and corroſive particles are conſumed, and its acrid qualities are thus wholly deſtroyed. When the Moors gather theſe fruits, they bring their goats under the trees, and, as the fruit falls, the animals carefully nibble off the ſkins, and then greedily feed.

In the ſame province alſo is found the tree which produces gum Sandarac; alſo that which yields the tranſparent gum; but the latter is moſt productive, and affords the beſt gum, the farther we proceed ſouthward, where the heat and night dews may, perhaps, render the vegetable ſecretion more pure and copious.

In the province of Suz, between the twenty-fifth and thirtieth degrees, the inhabitants have an almond harveſt, which varies little, becauſe of the mildneſs of the climate; but the fruit is ſmall, for which reaſon they take litttle care of the trees, and they degenerate with time.

The palm tree is common in the ſouthern provinces of Morocco; but dates ripen there with difficulty, and few are good, except in the province of Suz, and toward Tafilet, where they are ſtill better, becauſe of its diſtance from the ſea.

On the coaſt of Sallee and Mamora there are foreſts of Oak, which produce acorns near two inches long. They taſte like cheſnuts, and are eat raw and roaſted. This fruit is called Bellote, and is ſent to Cadiz, where the Spaniſh ladies hold it in great eſtimation.

The empire of Morocco alſo produces much wax; but, ſince it has been ſubjected by the Emperor to the payment of additional duties, the country people have very much neglected the care of their hives.

Salt abounds in the empire, and in ſome places on the coaſt requires only the trouble of gathering. Independent of the ſalt-pits, formed by the evaporation of the ſoft water, there are pits and lakes in the country whence great quantities are obtained. It is carried

carried even as far as Tombut, whence it paſſes to the interior parts of Africa.

The Moors cultivate their lands only in proportion to their wants; hence two thirds of the empire, at leaſt, lie waſte. Here the Doum, that is, the fan, or wild palm tree, grows in abundance, and from which theſe people, when neceſſity renders them induſtrious, find great advantage. The ſhepherds, mule drivers, camel drivers, and travellers, gather the leaves, of which they make mats, fringes, baſkets, hats, *ſhooaris*, or large wallets to carry corn, twine, ropes, girths, and covers for their pack-ſaddles. This plant, with which alſo they heat their ovens, produces a mild and reſinous fruit, that ripens in September and October. It is in form like the raiſin, contains a kernel, and is aſtringent, and very proper to temper and counteract the effects of the watery and laxative fruits, of which theſe people in ſummer make an immoderate uſe. That Power, which is ever provident for all, has ſpread this wild plant over their deſerts to ſupply an

an infinity of wants, that would otherwise heavily burden a people fo poor.

Unacquainted with the fources of wealth of which their anceftors were poffeffed, the Moors pretend there are gold and filver mines in the empire, which the Emperors will not permit to be worked, left their fubjects fhould thus find means to fhake off their yoke. It is not improbable but that the mountains of Atlas may contain unexplored riches; but there is no good proof that they have ever yielded gold and filver. There are known iron mines in the fouth, but the working of them has been found fo expenfive that the natives would rather ufe imported iron, notwithftanding the heavy duty it pays, by which its price is doubled. There are copper mines in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, which are not only fufficient for the fmall confumption of the empire, where copper is little ufed, but are alfo an object of exportation, and would become much more fo, were the duties lefs immoderate. Taxation every where impofes fhackles, deftructive

ſtructive to the induſtry of man, and the proſperity of nations.

After having ſeen that the true riches of the Empire of Morocco conſiſt in the abundance of neceſſary products, and the ignorance the inhabitants have of artificial wants, it will be a ſubject worthy curioſity to enquire whence came the gold and ſilver which the Moors accumulated in former ages; and what was the ſource of thoſe treaſures, the remainder of which the Sharifs, after the fifteenth century, diſſipated, and which inſenſibly dwindled to annihilation.

Time has thrown this enquiry into ſuch obſcurity as to diſable us from finding poſitive proofs; yet ſuffer me to hazard a few conjectures, that ſeem founded in probability.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Commerce of the Moors in former Times.

WHAT connection there anciently was between the Moors who border on Africa, and the more interior nations, we can only conjecture. It seems probable that the Carthaginians, who were the most industrious and enlightened people that have governed in Africa, as ardent in acquiring riches as in extending their power, were the first who, after having formed settlements on their borders to increase communication, must have established caravans to exchange their products for the gold, and productions, of interior Africa. This communication seems to be proved by the elephants, which were that way obtained, and with much greater ease than at present, and which formidable animals constituted in those ages the strength of armies. It may be their wildernesses were less desert,

and

and that they were watered by more ſtreams, the courſe of which have, perhaps, been turned by time, or other cauſes. If this be ſo, the tribes, that approach their borders, may now have been driven to a much greater diſtance from each other by theſe deſerts, their burning ſands, and the want of ſubſiſtence, which would no longer permit their being traverſed with their former facility.

Independent of ſuch natural effects, the conſequence of thoſe revolutions to which time daily ſubjects the earth, the changes that the minds and manners of men are likewiſe liable to muſt neceſſarily have influenced their intercourſe with each other, and the commerce of nations. The progreſs which navigation made, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, muſt have affected the commerce of Africa, and have inſenſibly attracted it from the centre toward the ſea coaſt, on the weſt, which approaches the equator, and where the French, Portugueſe, Dutch, and Engliſh, each emulative of the other, have ſucceſſively formed eſtabliſhments.

The

The great rivers of Africa, which empty themſelves in theſe ſeas, united its utmoſt boundaries, and the ports of Europe then received* gold duſt, ivory, ambergreaſe, Guinea pepper, and other productions, of inland Africa; the excluſive enjoyment of which had, till then, been confined to the bordering nations, and were to them become objects of luxury. The firſt ſucceſs of this diſcovery excited the ambition of Europe, which did not then foreſee thoſe diviſions and ills that would thence reſult. The negroes, however, at the ſight of our ſhips, had a foreboding of their deſtiny; they durſt not enter, fearing the white men, whom, till then, they had utterly unknown; they imagined they beheld their maſters, and not their friends; but the inſinuating affability of the Normans, and

* We read, in La Martiniere, that the firſt expeditions were undertaken to the coaſt of Guinea in 1364 by the adventurers of Dieppe, who, at that time, had the utmoſt ſucceſs till the year 1410, when the civil wars of France brought this riſing commerce into neglect. The Portugueſe, then maſters of the Cape de Verd Iſlands, formed ſettlements on the Gold coaſt.

the trifling presents they bestowed, gained their confidence.

Wretched nations, how might you suspect, how might you dread these demonstrations of friendship, and the toys with which your ignorance was dazzled, were the pledges of approaching slavery! Scarcely was the new world discovered before it was depopulated by the false and ferocious politics of its conquerors. Negroes were transported thither in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the enumeration of all those who, from that time to this, have there been held in slavery, is indeed fearful. It seems possible that we must one day carry back the remains of these nations to repeople the deserts of Africa, when the avarice of Europeans shall have made them wholly desolate. I must intreat pardon for these reflections; they have led me somewhat from my subject.

After the destruction of Carthage and Rome, the Moors, having had no commercial intercourse with Europe till to-

ward the fourteenth century, muſt have confined their trade to the more central nations of Africa, with whom they reſpectively interchanged their products. There they probably vended their merchandiſe of woollen ſtuffs, ſheep ſkins *, cloth, corn, ſalt, and dried fruits.

In exchange for theſe, which were produced by labour only, and the conſumption of which was, perhaps, very great, they obtained gold duſt, ivory, Guinea pepper, and ſlaves. Such, it appears to me, muſt have been the firſt ſource of the wealth of the Empire of Morocco. The Moors on the confines of Africa might ſtill poſſeſs nearly the ſame reſources, had they the ſame facility of communication. Thoſe of Morocco, whoſe ſituation is moſt central, have, perhaps, profited the leaſt by them during the three laſt centuries, either by the frequency

* Sheep ſkins, unſheared, ſerve as mattreſſes, and to ſit on among theſe people; and we may obſerve that, in the interior parts of Africa, the ſheep have hair inſtead of wool, while the men have wool inſtead of hair on their heads.

quency of revolutions which their empire has undergone, or becauſe their deſpotic government has ſo entirely ſhackled trade and induſtry. The ſmall degree of barter which the people ſtill maintain with Tombut, and the countries nearer to the Niger, give a colour of truth to my conjectures concerning the commerce of theſe nations in ancient times, and of which the modern Moors have no remembrance.

The inhabitants of Tunis and Tripoli, who have a different kind of government, gain more advantage by their intercourſe with the people bordering on the Niger. They alſo occaſionally make voyages into Egypt, to Aſia, and Conſtantinople, whither they carry negroes, male and female; while the Moors of Morocco ſcarcely obtain ſlaves ſufficient for their own ſervice.



From theſe, or ſimilar ſuppoſitions, we may obtain ſome ideas concerning the original ſource of the great wealth formerly

found among the Moors. We ſhall ſee, in a future chapter, what is the preſent commercial intercourſe between the empire of Morocco and the nations of Europe.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Inhabitants of Morocco.

THE inhabitants of the Empire of Morocco, known by the name of Moors, are a mixture of Arabian and African nations, formed into tribes; with the origin of whom we are but imperfectly acquainted. These tribes, each strangers to the other, and ever divided by traditional hatred or prejudice, seldom mingle *. It seems probable that most of the *casts*, who occupy the provinces of Morocco, have been repulsed from the eastern to the western Africa, during those different revolutions by which this part of the world has been agitated; that they have followed the standard of their chiefs, whose names they

* Some have imagined they perceived among these people, notwithstanding the intervention of ages, those family aversions which were remarkable among the people of Canaan, to whom the Moors appear to have owed their origin.

have preserved; and that by these they, as well as the countries they inhabit, are distinguished. At present these tribes are called Cafiles, or Cabiles, from the Arabic word Kobeila; and they are so numerous that it is impossible to have a knowledge of them all. In the northern provinces are enumerated *Beni-Garir*, *Beni-Guernid*, *Beni-Mansor*, *Beni-Oriegan*, *Beni-Chelid*, *Beni-Juseph*, *Beni-Zaruol*, *Beni-Razin*, *Beni-Gebara*, *Beni-Buseibet*, *Beni-Gualid*, *Beni-Yeder*, *Beni-Gueiaghel*, *Beni-Guaseval*, *Beni-Guamud*, &c.; toward the east are, *Beni-Sayd*, *Beni-Teusin*, *Beni-Iessetin*, *Beni-Bubalel*, *Beni-Telid*, *Beni-Soffian*, *Beni-Becil*, *Beni-Zequer*, &c.; and still farther to the south, those of *Beni-Fonsecara*, *Beni-Aros*, *Beni-Hassen*, *Beni-Mager*, *Beni-Basil*, *Beni-Seba*, with an infinite number of others *. The people who depend on Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, are in like manner di-

* We must observe, that the word *Ben*, that is to say, Son, is usually employed to signify family descendants; thus, *Beni-Hassen* and *Beni-Juseph* consequently signify the children, or descendants, of Hassen and of Joseph. The Moors, as a more extensive generic term, call men *Ben-Adem*; that is, the descendants or sons of Adam.

 vided

vided into an infinite number of theſe tribes, who all are ſo ancient that they themſelves have not the leaſt idea of their origin.

We ſhould divide the different tribes that people this empire into two principal claſſes, that is to ſay, the Brebes and the Moors. I ſhall not dwell upon the ſignification of the name Brebes, which the mountaineers have acquired and preſerved; conjectures only can be formed on the ſubject, the incertitude concerning the origin of theſe people, and the epocha of their firſt ſettlements, being conſidered.

The Brebes, as well as the Moors, no doubt, adopted the Mahometan religion, analogous as it was to their manners and chief cuſtoms, on the firſt invaſion of the Arabs; but they are ignorant, and little faithful to its precepts, except to that which inſpires them with a hatred for other religions. Mahometaniſm has not effaced the ancient habits and prejudices of theſe people, for they eat ſwine's fleſh, and, in thoſe places where there are vineyards, drink wine; and

good reaſon why, ſay they, we make it ourſelves. In the ſouthern parts of Mount Atlas they put it into earthen jars the better to preſerve it, and into barrels made from the trunks of hollow trees, the butends of which they ſpread over with pitch, keep it in caverns, and even in water. In the province of Rif, toward the north, they give it a ſlight boiling, which deprives it of its fumes, and makes it leſs intoxicating; they, perhaps, alſo think, that this renders it cogenial to the ſpirit of the Koran.

Buried in their mountains, the Brebes maintain their reſentment againſt the Moors, whom, confounding them with the Arabs, they regard as uſurpers. In theſe aſylums they contract a ferocity of character, and ſtrength of body, which render them more proper for war and labour than the Moors of the plain in general are; the independence they profeſs imparts more of character to their countenance; but it is neceſſary to have lived long among theſe nations to perceive the difference. Subjected to the Emperors of Morocco by re-

ligious prejudices, they ſhake off his authority whenever they think proper, and, intrenched as they are in their mountains, to attack and vanquiſh them are difficult.

The Brebes have a language of their own, and never marry but among each other. They have tribes or Caſiles among them who are exceedingly powerful, both by their number and courage. Such are thoſe of *Gomera* on the borders of Rif, of *Gayroan* toward Fez, of *Timoor* extending along mount Atlas from Mequinez to Tedla, of *Shavoya* from Tedla to Duquella, and of *Miſhboya* from Morocco to the ſouth. The Emperor of Morocco keeps the children of the chiefs of theſe tribes at court as hoſtages for their fidelity.

The Brebes have no diſtinction of dreſs; they are always clothed in woolen like the Moors, and, though they inhabit the mountains, ſeldom wear caps. Theſe mountaineers, as well as their wives, have exceedingly fine teeth, and ſhew ſigns of vigour, which diſtinguiſh them from the other tribes. It is common for them to

hunt lions and tigers, and the very mothers have a cuſtom of decorating their children with a tiger's claw, or the remnant of a lion's hide on the head, thinking that by this means they acquire ſtrength and courage. The ſame kind of ſuperſtition, no doubt, occaſions young wives to give their huſbands theſe ſort of amulets. The Brebes and the Shellu having a language common to themſelves, and unknown to the Moors, muſt both have had the ſame origin, notwithſtanding the difference there is in their mode of life. The Shellu live on the frontiers of the empire toward the ſouth; their population is by no means ſo great as that of the Brebes, nor are they ſo ferocious; they do not marry with other tribes; and, though they practiſe many ſuperſtitious rites, they are faithful obſervers of their religion.

After the Brebes, who are conſiderably populous, I ſhall ſpeak of the Moors, the greateſt number of whom are extended over the country, and the remainder inhabit the cities.

The

The former, that is, the Moors of the country, live in tents, and have fresh encampments every year to give rest to the land, and obtain fresh pasturage; but they are not allowed to remove, without having first informed their governor. Like the ancient Arabs, they are entirely addicted to a country life. Their encampments, which they call Douhars, composed of numerous tents, form a crescent, somewhat narrowed toward the end, or else are erected in two parallel lines; and their flocks and herds returning from pasture occupy the centre. They sometimes close the entrance of the Douhars with thorn faggots, but set no other guards than a number of dogs, which bark unceasingly at the approach of a stranger. Each Douhar has its chief, who is subordinate to a still superior officer, appointed to superintend and govern a number of these encampments; and many of these lesser divisions are again reunited under the government of a Bashaw; some of whom have a thousand Douhars under their command.

The tents of the Moors are somewhat of a conic

a conic form, are ſeldom more than eight or ten feet high in the centre, and from twenty to five and twenty in length. Like thoſe of the remoteſt antiquity, their figure is that of a ſhip overſet, the keel of which is only ſeen. Theſe tents are made of twine, compoſed of goat's hair, camel's wool, and the leaves of the wild palm, ſo that they keep out water; but, being black, they produce a diſagreeable effect at a diſtant view.

The Moors in camp live in the utmoſt ſimplicity, and preſent a faithful picture of the earth's inhabitants in the firſt ages. Education, the temperance of the climate, and the rigour of the government, diminiſh the wants of theſe people, who find in their own provinces, and the milk and wool of their flocks, every thing neceſſary for their food and cloathing. It is their cuſtom to have ſeveral wives, a luxury much leſs felt among people who have few wants than among thoſe who have many; it is even advantageous to œconomy, the woman having charge of all domeſtic affairs. Beneath their ill-ſecured tents they are employed in milking their cows to ſupply their

their daily wants, and, when the milk is in abundance, they make butter. They ſort and ſift their wheat and barley, gather vegetables, and daily grind flour with a mill compoſed of two round ſtones, eighteen inches in diameter; in the upper one of which a handel is fixed while it turns on an axle, which projects from that beneath. They daily make bread, which they bake well, or ill, as it happens, between two earthern plates, and very often on the ground heated by fire.

Their common food is Cooscooſoo, a paſte made of flour in the form of ſmall grains, in the manner of Italian paſtes. This Cooscooſoo they dreſs by the vapour of broth in a round diſh, with holes like a colander, and that is fixed in the kettle in which they boil their meat. The Cooscooſoo, contained in this deep plate, or colander, is ſlowly ſoftened, and prepared by the vapour of the broth, with which they take care to moiſten it occaſionally.

Simple as this food is, it is very nouriſhing, and alſo very agreeable, when thoſe habi-

habitual prejudices are overcome which each nation has for its own cuſtoms, and which cannot be eradicated but by an intercourſe with other nations. The common people eat their Cooscooſoo with milk or butter indifferently; but thoſe more at their eaſe, as the governors of provinces, or their lieutenants, who live in the centre of their encampments, have it dreſſed by a rich broth made with mutton, poultry, and pigeons, or hedge-hogs, and mix it afterward with freſh butter.

Theſe officers receive ſtrangers in their camps with like cordiality to that with which the gueſts of Jacob and Laban were received. They kill a ſheep on their arrival, which they immediately put to the ſpit, and, if they have not a ſpit ready, a wooden one is made; when roaſted by a very quick fire, and ſerved up in a wooden platter, their mutton looks and eats exceedingly well. I have often been preſent at ſimilar repaſts, the ſimplicity of which I reſpected. I imagined myſelf in a dream, and tranſported under the tents of the Patriarchs.

The

The employment of the women is also to prepare their wool, ſpin, and weave in looms hung lengthways in their tents*. Theſe looms are formed by a liſt of an ell and a half long, to which the threads of the warp are fixed at one end, and at the other on a roller of equal length; the weight of which, being ſuſpended, keeps them ſtretched. The threads of the warp are ſo hung as to be readily interſected. Inſtead of ſhuttles, the women paſs the thread of the woof through the warp with their fingers, and with an iron comb, having a handle, preſs the woof to give a body to their cloth. Each piece, of about five ells long, and an ell and a half wide, is called a *haick*; it receives neither dreſſing milling nor dying, but is immediately fit for uſe; it is the conſtant dreſs of the Moors of the country, is without ſeam, and incapable of varying according to the caprices of faſhion. When dirty, it is

* Theſe looms are uſed in the country, but the looms of the town weavers are like ours. Each individual buys ſpun worſted at the market, and has it wove according to his own fancy.

washed; the Moor is wrapped up in it day and night, and this haick is the living model of the drapery of the ancients.

The country Moors wear only their woollen stuffs, without shirts or drawers, linen among these nations being an article of luxury known only to the court and city. The wardrobe of a country Moor, who is in easy circumstances, consists in a haick for summer, another for winter, a cape, a red cap, and a pair of slippers. The common people, both of country and town, wear a kind of tunic of white grey, or mixed woollen cloth, which descends half way down the leg, with large sleeves and a cape, much resembling the dress of the Carthusian friars.

The country women likewise wear only a haick tied round their waist, the folds of which, covering the neck and shoulders, are fastened by silver clasps. The finery of which the country women are most desirous are large ear-rings, made in the shape of a crescent, or silver rings, with bracelets and rings for the small of the leg. These

Theſe they wear, amidſt all their employments, leſs from vanity than becauſe they know not the uſe of drawers, or cheſts, in which to lay them up. They alſo wear necklaces of ſmall-coloured glaſs beads, or clove grains ſtrung on a ſilken thread.

Beſide theſe embelliſhments, the country women, to make themſelves more beautiful, paint the ſkin of their face, neck, boſom, and almoſt of their whole body, with the forms of flowers and ornaments. Theſe impreſſions are made with models, in which are the points of needles that ſlightly raſe the ſkin, under which a blue colour is inſerted, or gunpowder pulverized, which is never effaced. The cuſtom is exceedingly ancient, and has been common to numerous nations in Tartary, Aſia, the ſouthern parts of Europe, and, perhaps, over the whole earth. It is not, however, general to all the Mooriſh tribes, the women of ſome of which bear on the forehead, or on the chin, a croſs impearled at the four ends, or elſe the ſame croſs as if pendent from a chain, the figure of which, traced round the neck, deſcends to the

the bosom. These tribes are probably descendants of those who formerly were subjected to the Christians of Africa, and who, to avoid paying taxes like the Moors, thus imprinted crosses upon their skins that they might pass for Christian. This custom, which originally might serve to distinguish tribes by their religion, or from each other, afterward became a mode of decoration, that was habitually retained, after all remembrance of its origin was effaced *.

The country Moors regard their wives less as companions than as slaves, destined to labour; tilling the ground excepted, they have the care of every thing; and I may add, to the disgrace of humanity, that in certain poor parts women are seen with a mule, an ass, or some other animal, drawing the plough. When the Moors remove their Douhars, or encampments, the men, all seated on the ground in a circle,

* I had the curiosity to make all possible inquiries concerning the casts who follow this custom, and find they came originally from the neighbourhood of Tunis; which circumstance seems to justify my conjectures.

with

with their elbows on their knees, converſe together, while the women take down the tents, pack up the effects, and load their camels, or oxen; the old afterward carry bundles, and the young their children upon their backs in blankets tied round the waiſt. In the ſouthern parts the women are alſo obliged to look after the horſes, clean, ſaddle, and bridle them, while the huſband, always deſpotic in theſe climates, commands, and ſeems only born to be obeyed.

The country women walk unveiled; their ſkin is tanned, nor can they make abſolute pretenſions to beauty. In ſome places, however, they paint their cheeks, and every where ſtain their hair, their feet, and their finger-ends, with an herb called henna, which produces a deep ſaffron colour. This muſt have been an ancient cuſtom among the nations of Aſia. Abu-Beker ſtained his eyebrows and beard of the ſame colour, and he has been imitated by many of his ſucceſſors. A reverence for religion might have introduced the cuſtom, which the women afterwards

made ornamental. It may, however, ſeem more probable that the cuſtom of painting the beard and hair, of plucking it up by the roots, and ſhaving the head in warm countries, firſt originated in cleanlineſs, for the ſame reaſon as combs are uſed in thoſe countries where the hair is worn.

The marriage ceremonies of the Moors, who live in tents, much reſemble thoſe of the cities; a deſcription of which will be ſeen in its place. The nuptials of the Douhar are in general more gay and ſplendid, and they carefully invite paſſing ſtrangers, that they may contribute to the expence of the feſtival; and in this they are more intereſted than hoſpitable.

The tribes diſperſed over the country uſually confine their marriages each within itſelf, ſeldom intermarrying with other tribes. They are always embroiled by their prejudices, which deſcend from generation to generation, or which, feebly ſlumbering, awake if a camel happen to be loſt, or on the leaſt diſpute concerning paſturage, or wells of water. Intermarriages among

theſe tribes, far from producing harmony, have often given birth to ſcenes ſo tragical, as ſcarcely to be believed among other nations; ſuch as men murdered by their wives, or women ſlaughtered by their huſbands, to revenge national quarrels between their different tribes.

Their children, however numerous, are no incumbrance to the parent, for, as ſoon as able, they are all put to work; they keep the flocks, carry wood, aſſiſt in tilling the ground, and gathering the harveſt. In the evening, when they return from their day's labour, all the children of the Douhar aſſemble in a common tent, where the Iman, who himſelf can ſcarcely ſpell, teaches them to read ſome leſſons in the Koran, tranſcibed on boards, and inſtructs them in their religion by the light of a fire made of ſtraw, under-wood, and cow-dung, dried in the ſun. The heat is moſt felt in the inland parts of the country, and there children, of both ſexes, often run naked till they are nine or ten years old.

There are no inns or asylums for travellers, except in these Douhars, which are scattered over the country, and always near some rivulet or well. There is a tent for the reception of those travellers who do not carry any with them. Here they find poultry, milk, eggs, and forage for their horses. Instead of wood, they commonly burn sun-dried cow dung, which, mingled with charcoal that must be brought with them, makes a very ardent fire. The abundance of salts found in hot countries give this cow dung a body, which it has not in northern climates*. There is a guard placed round the tents of travellers to prevent accidents, especially when they happen to be Europeans, because that the opinion the Moors have of their riches might tempt their avidity, they being naturally thievish.

Their laws, for the preservation of travellers on the road, are well adapted to the

* That of the month of May is preserved in some places, which, on unprejudiced examination, will be found to be a decoction of herbs and flowers, when most in season; and an extract of this is given to sick people as a kind of tea.

cha-

character of the Moors, and their mode of living. The Douhar is refponfible for all thefts committed in its neighbourhood, or in fight of its encampment; they are not only obliged to pay the lofs, but the Emperor takes occafion to exact from them contributions proportioned to their riches *. To foften the rigour of the law, the Douhars are accountable only for thefts committed by day, and not for thofe which happen after fun-fet, they being not able to fee or prevent them. Travellers therefore only begin their journies at fun-rife, and neceffarily reft before twilight †.

To facilitate barter, there is a public market held every day throughout the

* Hiftory informs us, that among the Egyptians, when any perfon was found murdered, drowned, or dead, by any accident whatever, the neareft city was obliged to embalm the dead, and furnifh a magnificent funeral. This law, characteriftic of the religion of the Egyptians, and their care of the dead, might alfo have a political retrofpect to the fafety of travellers.

† This appears to be a wholefome law in any country, and is not confined to ignorant or barbarous nations, fince it is a well-known law of England. T.

country, Friday excepted, which is the day of prayer, in various quarters of each province. Here the neighbouring Moors aſſemble to buy and ſell cattle, corn, vegetables, dried fruits, carpets, haicks, and all the productions of their country. This market, called Soc in Arabic, reſembles the village fairs of France; the motion of the people going and coming to market give a juſter idea of the manner in which the Moors live than any to be found in their towns. The Alcaids, who command in the neighbourhood, always repair to the markets with ſoldiers to keep the peace, it being common enough at ſuch places to ſee thoſe ſeeds of rancour, which different tribes preſerve againſt each other, burſt forth. The breaking up of the Soc, as it is called in Arabic, when theſe quarrels happen, gives diſquietude to the government, becauſe it always betokens ſeditious tumults. On the outſide of the market there are uſually ſhews, buffoons, ſingers, dancers, and merry Andrews, who make monkies dance for the amuſement of gapers. On one ſide is the place of the barbers, or ſurgeons, to whom they bring their

their ſick to be cured of ſtrains, diſlocations, or other accidents. I have often, while travelling, been amuſed by theſe ſights, and have ſeen men and young women, who have been troubled with ſwellings, head aches, or other humours, ariſing from undue circulation, ſubmit to ſlight, regular ſcarifications, the men on the head, and the women round it, very near the hair, or ſometimes on the ſhoulders, arms, or legs. Their regularity prevents ſuch ſcars disfiguring the ſkin, though they do not ſoon diſappear. This treatment would be incompatible with the cuſtoms and education of Europe, where health is often ſacrificed to eaſe and beauty. Without giving a decided preference to this or that cuſtom, it ſeems rational that rheumatic pains in the ſhoulders, or other parts, might be more radically cured by ſuch light inciſions than by perſpiration, or means which may extend the humours, or incloſe them inſtead of cure. This is mere ſuppoſition, which will be pardoned me, as I do not pretend to be ſufficiently inſtructed in phyſic to ſpeak with any certainty.

The Moors of the country have no knowledge of the cuſtoms of other nations: at ſight of them we imagine we ſee men as they were before, and immediately after, the flood. Confined to a rural life, they are occupied concerning their grounds and harveſts, and paſs the remainder of their time in reſt. Habituated to fatigue, there are many of them who ſerve as couriers, and who, notwithſtanding their avarice, are tolerably faithful and exact.

It is difficult to conceive the ignorance of theſe country Moors. I have ſeen one waiting for his diſpatches in a room where there was a glaſs, and, his eye being caught by his own reflected figure, he imagined it was another courier waiting for diſpatches in another apartment. Having aſked to what place that courier was going, and being told to Mogodor, O then, ſaid he, we will travel together. He made the propoſition to his ſuppoſed comrade, who, like him, geſticulated in the glaſs, but gave no anſwer: he began to be angry till he ſaw another perſon reflected by the ſame glaſs enter the room. Aſtoniſhed at his error,

tor, he could ſcarcely be perſuaded, in ſpite of ſeeing and feeling, that it was poſſible to ſee one's ſelf, ſaid he, through a ſtone *.

In a houſe where I lodged, at Saffi, came two mountaineers, whoſe curioſity led them to examine Europeans in their own apartments. After having gone over the whole houſe, they knew not how to deſcend the ſtairs they had come up, which, to be ſure, were rather ſteep. At laſt they ſat themſelves down on the firſt ſtep, and then, ſupporting themſelves by their hands and feet, ſhuffled from one to the other. It is not, however, aſtoniſhing that a mountaineer, though accuſtomed to aſcend high and rugged rocks, ſhould find it difficult to go up or down ſtairs, when we conſider that their regularily and exact meaſurement require a kind of habitude, or that he is as much embarraſſed, on ſuch an occaſion, as we ſhould be at running, with agility equal to his, up and down mountains.

* The Moors have no words to expreſs mirrors, or glaſs windows, becauſe they have not the things.

Not

Not one among these people are at first susceptible of receiving ideas from paintings or drawings; they only perceive a confusion of colours in a picture without their order or design, and in engravings a mixture of lines: application only can make them sensible of what they mean. In this they resemble a blind man restored to sight, who should be shewn a picture immediately after the operation of the cataract*.

* The truth of this observation is sufficiently proved by the slowness with which children comprehend the pictures in their books. T.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Manners of the Inhabitants of the Cities.

THE Moors of the cities differ but little from thoſe who live under tents, being of the ſame origin, except that they have ſomewhat more urbanity, and that their appearance beſpeaks them more wealthy. The citizens, however, are vain of being thought to have no relation to the country Moors; but the revolutions and convulſions, which the empire has undergone, overthrow all ſuch opinions, and will not admit us to ſuppoſe any diſtinction between the Moors of the country and thoſe of the cities. The aſſertion of ſome writers, who call the inhabitants of the cities Arabs and thoſe of the country Moors, appears to me totally ill founded: the former may indeed have given credit to this opinion; but it is the more ridiculous becauſe they themſelves call the Moors of the country Alarbes, which is but

but a corruption of the word Arabs. The Brebes and the Shellu, or Chellu, of all the inhabitants of Mauritania, feem to me to be the only ones who have not mingled; but, among the inhabitants of the cities and plains, an Arab can no more be diftinguifhed from a Moor than a Frank could from a Roman, or a Gaul from a Goth, pofterior to that influx of different nations who expelled and fucceeded each other after the fall of the Roman empire.

The only probable conjecture, which could juftify fuch an affertion, is that of thofe who believe the Arabs inhabit the cities becaufe that conquerors have the right or the liberty to chufe. Moft of the cities of the empire are more ancient than the invafions of the Arabs, who themfelves were accuftomed to live in tents; and it even feems apparent that the firft cities were built by the colonies of the Carthaginians, and that the cuftom of living in and increafing them did not, till long time after, become general, in proportion as the Moors had a greater intercourfe with the Mahometans of Spain, and more parti-

particularly after the expulſion of the latter. It may be, that, having enjoyed more luxury and wealth, the Mahometans of Spain might prefer to live in the cities, in which are ſtill found various families who vaunt of being deſcendants of the Mahometans of Andaluſia, and who ſtill preſerve the family names: ſuch as Bargas, Perez *, Medina, Moreno, Marino, Toledano, Probe, Marſil, Escalant, Aragon, Lovarez, Valenciano, Meudon, Santiago-Barciano, and others. Some even have preſerved their titles of their eſtates at Grenada, Cordova, Seville, &c. and perhaps alſo the very key of their houſe. I do not think that the difference, which is diſcernible between the Moors of the city and thoſe of the country, can have a much

* Voltaire, in his eſſay on the Manners of Nations, Chap. CLXII. has ſuppoſed that Perez, who was Admiral under Muley Iſhmael, was a Spaniſh renegado: but Perez was a family name among the Moors of Andaluſia. It ought to be remarked that the Spaniſh names, which the Moors and Jews who came from Spain have preſerved, are not always family names, but the names of patrons, or of adoption, which indicate the ſtate of dependence in which theſe Moors or Jews were to the houſe whoſe name they bear.

earlier

earlier date; nor will this any way change or affect their origin, but will confirm my suppositions; for whoever reads the revolution of the Mahometans of Spain, will find that these same Mahometans were also a mixture of Arab-Moors, whom it was impossible to distinguish.

The houses of the Moors have in general few conveniences, their wants not having been multiplied by whim. These houses seldom have more than one story, most of them are square, have a court in the centre that is often ornamented with pillars; which court gives light and entrance to four principal chambers that form the four faces of the square. They have no windows, nor is the light ever admitted from the street. Each chamber has a large pair of folding doors, in one of which is a kind of wicket; and these doors also serve to admit light into the apartments. The houses are seldom more than sixteen feet high, are in no danger from the wind, and are tolerably cool in summer.

The furniture of the Moors is sufficient for

for uſe; they are unacquainted with tapeſtry, and their moveables chiefly conſiſt in mats, carpets, ſome chairs, a cheſt, a table, and a bed, which runs lengthways the depth of the chamber, and is concealed by a curtain. The houſes have all terraces on the roof, which are formed of earth and mortar, about fifteen inches thick.

The inhabitants of the cities, from œconomy and deſire of concord, have only one wife, and very rarely increaſe the number. They have female negroes, whom they may take as concubines; but their averſion for their colour, which the white people have every where conſigned to oppreſſion, keep them chaſte, as they do not wiſh to have mulatto children. It muſt be owned that the Moors of the cities, commonly enough, have intercourſe of gallantry with the wives of the Jews, who, in general, are handſome; and their huſbands, enjoying by this means a more immediate protection, are complaiſant in proportion to the danger and percariouſneſs of their ſituation.

The

The Moors have little variety in their drefs; the rigour of government is contrary to the caprices of fafhion, and depreffes every fpecies of luxury. Unable to preferve their riches, except by concealing them, they are very careful not to bear any appearance of wealth which may awaken the avidity of government. "Thou muft needs be very rich," faid a Sharif to a Moor, who, to preferve his garden walls, had them whitewafhed.

We have already feen what is the drefs of the Moors who live in tents; the wardrobe of the inhabitants of cities is but little different; they, like the former, have a haick, and a hood more or lefs fine, and have alfo a hood of coarfe European cloth, of dark blue, for the winter. What farther diftinguifhes them from the country Moors is that they wear a fhirt and linen drawers, and an upper garment of cotton, in fummer, and of cloth in winter, which they call a caftan. The white or blue hood, the purpofe of which feems to be to guard againft bad weather, and which is called Bernus, is likewife a ceremonial

part of dreſs; without which, together with ſabre and ganger *, or canjer, worn in a bandelier, perſons of condition never appear before the Emperor.

The nature of the government conſidered, it ſhould ſeem probable that ſubjects preſent themſelves before their monarch in a dreſs like this, which is that of a man prepared to travel, only becauſe they muſt be always ready to receive and execute their maſter's orders. Some of the inhabitants of the capital cities, and of thoſe who are more immediately about the perſon of the Emperor, wear over their dreſs a cambric ſhirt, like thoſe which the French ladies have lately among the everlaſting changes of faſhion adopted, tied round their bodies with a ſaſh; they alſo put up the hood of their haick.

Obliged as they are to conceal their riches, the Moors wear no jewels; very

* The ganger is a dagger, ſometimes ſtraight, and ſometimes bent, about a foot in length, and two inches wide.

few have ſo much as a ring, a watch, or a ſilver ſnuff-box. Snuff has not, indeed, been introduced into Morocco till within ſome fifteen or twenty years. They frequently carry a roſary in their hand, but without annexing any ideas of devotion to the practice, although they uſe it to recite the name of God a certain number of times in the day. After theſe momentary prayers they play with their roſary, much the ſame as the European ladies do with their fans *. The Europeans received the uſe of the roſary from the people of Aſia, or perhaps, from the Arabs. As few of theſe were ſufficiently learned to read the Koran, they ſupplied this defect by pronouncing the Creator's name a certain number of times in the day. A ſimilar motive, probably, firſt made it adopted in the prayers of Catholics.

* The Oriental Mahometans have the ſame cuſtom, except that they ſeek for a degree of elegance and faſhion unknown to the Moors.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Dreſs and Manners of the Women of the Cities in Morocco.

THE Mooriſh women ſeldom leave the houſe, and always veiled. The old very carefully hide their faces, but the young and handſome are ſomewhat more indulgent; that is to ſay, toward foreigners, for they are exceedingly cautious with the Moors. Being veiled, their huſbands do not know them in the ſtreet, and it is even impolite to endeavour to ſee the faces of the women who paſs, ſo different are the manners and cuſtoms of nations.

There are very fine women found among the Moors, eſpecially up the country; thoſe of the northern parts by no means poſſeſs the ſame degree of grace and beauty: it would be difficult to give any phyſical reaſon for this difference: tranſmigrations have

have continually happened among the different tribes of the empire, of whofe defcent and origin we are ignorant. Thefe tribes marry only with thofe of their own tribe, by which they are preferved without intermixture.

As females in warm countries fooner arrive at puberty, they are alfo fooner old; and this, perhaps, may be the reafon why polygamy has been generally adopted in fuch climates. Women there fooner lofe the charms of youth, while men ftill preferve their paffions, and the powers of nature.

The Moorifh women are not in general very referved. Climate has a vaft influence on the temperament of the body; and licentioufnefs is there more general and lefs reftrained, though, as in other places, its diforderly pleafures incur its attendant pains; not but that the difeafe attending illicit amours is lefs poifonous, and flower in its operations, among the Moors, than in Europe, becaufe of the heat of the climate,

mate, and the great temperance of their mode of living.

The women of the ſouth are in general the handſomeſt, and are ſaid to be ſo reſerved, or ſo guarded, that their very relations do not enter their houſes, nor their tents. Yet, ſuch is the contradictory cuſtom of nations, that, there are tribes, in theſe ſame provinces, among whom it is held to be an act of hoſpitality to preſent a woman to a traveller. It may be, there are women who dedicate themſelves to this ſpecies of devotion as to an act of benevolence, for it is impoſſible to deſcribe all the varieties of opinion among men, or the whims to which the human fancy is ſubject.

The Mooriſh women who live in cities are, as in other nations, more addicted to ſhew and finery in dreſs than thoſe of the country; but, as they generally leave the houſe only one day in the week, they ſeldom dreſs themſelves. Not allowed to receive male viſitors, they remain in their houſes employed in their families, and ſo totally in diſhabille that they often wear

 only

only a ſhift, and another coarſer ſhift over the firſt, tied round their waiſt, with their hair plaited, and ſometimes with, though often without, a cap.

When dreſſed they wear an ample and fine linen ſhift, the boſom embroidered in gold; a rich caftan of cloth, ſtuff, or velvet, worked in gold; and one or two folds of gauze, ſtreaked with gold and ſilk, round the head, and tied behind ſo as that the fringes, intermingled with their treſſes, deſcend as low as the waiſt; to which ſome add a ribband of about two inches broad, worked in gold or pearls, that encircles the forehead in form of a diadem. Their caftan is bound round their waiſt by a crimſon velvet girdle, embroidered in gold with a buckle of gold or ſilver, or elſe a girdle of tamboured ſtuff, manufactured at Fez.

The women have yellow ſlippers, and a cuſtom of wearing a kind of ſtocking of fine cloth ſomewhat large, which is tied below the knee and at the ancle, over which it falls in folds. This ſtocking is

leſs calculated to ſhew what we call a handſome leg, than to make it appear thick; for to be fat is one of the rules of beauty among the Mooriſh women. To obtain this quality, they take infinite pains, feed when they become nubile on a diet ſomewhat like forced-meat balls, a certain quantity of which is given them daily; and, in fine, the ſame care is taken among the Moors to fatten young women, as is in Europe to fatten fowls. The reaſon of a cuſtom like this may be found in the nature of the climate, and the quality of the aliments, which make the people naturally meager. Our ſlender waiſts and fine-turned ancles would be imperfections in this part of Africa, and, perhaps, over all that quarter of the globe; ſo great is the contraſt of taſte, and ſo various the prejudices of nations.

The Moors preſent their wives with jewels of gold, ſilver, or pearl, but very few wear precious ſtones; this is a luxury, of which they have little knowledge. They have rings in ſilver or gold, alſo ear-rings in the form of a creſcent, five inches

in circumference, and as thick as the end of the little finger. They firſt pierce their ears, and introduce a ſmall roll of paper, which they daily increaſe in thickneſs, till at length they inſert the kernel of the date, which is equal in ſize to the ear-ring.

They wear bracelets in gold and ſolid ſilver, and ſilver rings at the bottom of their legs, ſome of which I have ſeen conſiderably heavy. There are youths among the Shariſs, or nobility, who wear at one ear a gold or ſilver ring from four to five inches in circumference; but this cuſtom is more general among the black ſlaves belonging to people of ſome diſtinction.

All theſe trinkets, which the women are exceedingly deſirous to obtain, were originally ſigns of ſlavery, which men, to render its yoke more ſufferable, have thus inſenſibly changed to ornaments. Europe received ſuch tokens of dependence from Aſia, embelliſhed them with all the riches of nature, and the decorations of art, till at length ear-rings and bracelets, firſt worn as badges

badges of ſervitude, are now become the paraphernalia of the empire of beauty.

The uſe of white paint is unknown among the Mooriſh women, and that of red but little. It is much more common to ſee them dye their eyebrows and eye-laſhes; which dye does not add to the beauty of the countenance, but conſiderably to the fire of the eyes. They trace regular figures with henna, of a ſaffron colour, on their feet, the palm of the hand, and the tip of their fingers.

On their viſiting day they wrap themſelves in a clean fine haick, which comes over the head, and ſurrounds the face ſo as to let them ſee without being ſeen. When they travel they wear ſtraw hats to keep off the ſun, and in ſome parts of the empire the women wear hats on their viſits, which is a faſhion peculiar to the tribes coming from the ſouth, who have preſerved their cuſtoms, for the Moors do not change modes they have once adopted*.

* The hat is common to men and women among the Moors who travel, and the cuſtom of wearing it came from Africa

They are in no wiſe ſuſceptible of that continual change of faſhion ſo ſtudied and ſo rapid in Europe, and which, particularly in France, is become ſo vaſt an object, more burdenſome, perhaps, than uſeful, of induſtry and intercourſe.

Africa to Europe. The Spaniards, becauſe of the heat of their climate, ſtill, as much as they can, wear it flapped, and have called it Sombrero, or ſhady. The French gave it the name of Chappeau, becauſe it ſupplied the uſe of the cape or hood of their ancient dreſs, which they called chapel.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Renegadoes and Jews.

AMONG the Moors and Jews, who together people the empire of Morocco, there is an intermediate claſs of men who, ſomewhat like amphibious animals, ſeem to appertain to two elements. I ſpeak of renegadoes, who have renounced Chriſtianity to embrace Mahometaniſm. Among theſe there are a great number who were originally Jews: the Moors hold them not in the leaſt reſpect, and the Jews in ſtill leſs, had they power freely to make their averſion known.

Theſe apoſtates intermarry only among each other; and, as in Spain, an old Chriſtian carefully avoids beſtowing his daughter on one newly converted, ſo does a Moor of ancient race imagine his family diſgraced,

graced, ſhould a renegado become the huſband of his daughter. The families of apoſtate Jews are exceedingly numerous, and are called Toornadis *. Not having at any time married with the Moors, they ſtill preſerve their ancient characteriſtics, and are known almoſt at ſight to be the progeny of thoſe who formerly embraced the Mahometan religion.

The Chriſtian renegadoes are but few, and generally are fugitive peculators of Spain, or men fallen from power, who, becauſe of their miſconduct, or in deſpair, quit one unfortunate ſituation for another, much more deplorable. Not one among them but repents of having become a Moor, or who does not wiſh to eſcape; but this is difficult.

To conclude the accouut I have given of the inhabitants of Morocco, I muſt

* From the Spaniſh word Tornadizo, which ſignifies one who has changed his religion.

COVARRUBIAS. *Teſoro de la Lengua Caſtillana.*

now

now ſpeak of the Jews, who are very populous in the empire. After being proſcribed in Spain and Portugal, multitudes of them paſſed over to Morocco, and ſpread themſelves through the towns and over the country. Judging by the relations they themſelves give, and by the extent of the places aſſigned them to dwell in, I have no doubt but there were more than thirty thouſand families, of whom at preſent there is ſcarcely a reſidue of one twelfth; the remainder either have changed their religion, ſunk under their ſufferings, or fled from the vexations they endured, and the arbitrary taxes and tolls impoſed upon them.

The Jews poſſeſs neither lands nor gardens, nor can they enjoy their fruits in tranquillity; they muſt wear only black, and are obliged, when they paſs near moſques, or through ſtreets in which there are ſanctuaries, to walk barefoot.

The loweſt among the Moors imagines he has a right to illtreat a Jew, nor dares the latter defend himſelf, becauſe the Koran

tan and the Judge are always in favour of the Mahometan. Notwithſtanding this ſtate of oppreſſion, the Jews have many advantages over the Moors; they better underſtand the ſpirit of trade, they act as agents and brokers, and profit by their own cunning, and the ignorance of the Moors. In their commercial bargains many of them buy up the commodities of the country to ſell again. Some have European correſpondents, and others are mechanics; ſuch as goldſmiths, tailors, gunſmiths, millers, and maſons. More induſtrious, artful, and better informed than the Moors, the Jews are employed by the Emperor in receiving the cuſtoms, coining the money, and in all affairs and intercourſe which the Monarch has with the European merchants, as well as in all his negotiations with the various European governments.

Thus, though but momentarily employed in the adminiſtration of affairs, they, by their active intrigues, have the power of doing ſome good, and much miſchief; and, ſuch is their cunning, they generally

nerally take care to gain both by the one and the other. Hence, though the Jews are oppreſſed, they find reſources in their induſtry, and means of conſoling themſelves for all their indignities.

The wives of the Jews in Morocco are in general well formed, handſome, have good complexions, and exceedingly fine eyes. They are addicted to dreſs, and their propenſity to gallantry is the greater inaſmuch as the huſbands of the commonality are ſomewhat more than indulgent. We muſt not, however, conclude there are not many Jewiſh families, whoſe manners are good and exemplary.

As the Jews throughout the empire live diſtinct and ſeparate from the Moors, they enjoy their religious rites with conſiderable liberty. Thoſe of Morocco ſeem even to have multiplied their ſuperſtitions by their intercourſe with foreign nations, after the deſtruction of the Jewiſh empire. Their Rabbins find a remedy for all evils in prayer, and promote, inſtead of deſtroying, error. Enjoying thoſe eccleſiaſtical immunities

nities which are granted them by the law, these doctors live exempt from the national impoſitions paid by the community; and this exemption increaſing, the number of the Rabbins increaſes, and renders more heavy the load of taxation laid on the laborious, who want ſufficient capital to trade; while the Rabbins, fattening upon the public miſery, employ themſelves in affairs of commerce and gain.

The Jews in the empire of Morocco ſpeak Arabic, and all know the Hebrew, becauſe of the affinity between theſe two languages, the one of which is derived from the other. Every where elſe Hebrew is the learned language among the Jews, of which the common people are ignorant, and which is ſtudied only by the Rabbins. The Rabbins, in ſome parts of Morocco, without underſtanding the Spaniſh language, have preſerved the habit of tranſlating into that language by reading the Hebrew Bible in Spaniſh, to which they alſo accuſtom their ſcholars. However extraordinary ſuch efforts, it is ridiculous

diculous to fatigue the memory of children with ſtudies which can be of no utility *.

The Jews, who, amid all their perſecutions and emigrations, have introduced their religious rites and ceremonies into all countries, obſerve more ſcrupulouſly in Morocco than in any other kingdom thoſe which were anciently performed at the death of their kinſmen. The departure of life is announced by them with ſhrieks and lamentations, in which hired women join, and who ſing in a kind of meaſure, or rhythmus, at the end of which they clap their hands; thus, in cadence, marking the gradations of their grief. The kinſwomen of the deceaſed tear their hair, beat themſelves, and join in this lamentable concert, which is again repeated on the day of interment. The Jews then obſerve ſix days of ſevere mourning, during which they go barefoot,

* This paſſage is almoſt unintelligible, and certainly can only mean a Spaniſh tranſlation of the Bible is read at the ſame time with the Hebrew, and that they are both compared, perhaps tranſcribed. T.

and muſt neither ſhave themſelves, nor change their clothes. On the ſeventh day their former muſical ſhrieks are repeated, as they likewiſe are on the firſt of the eleventh month, which is the laſt of mourning. The women-weepers, at theſe funeral ceremonies, ſing moral ſentences concerning life and death; and, when they happen to be capable of ſinging extempore, they rhyme and chaunt the praiſes of the deceaſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Animals found in the Empire of Morocco.

THE domeſtic animals found in Morocco are of the ſame ſpecies as thoſe that are native in Europe. The ferocious are peculiar to theſe climes. I ſhall ſpeak of the former firſt.

The Moors are a paſtoral people, and their wealth conſiſts in their flocks and herds. Theſe are numerous throughout the empire, and would be much more ſo were property reſpected, and might commerce be enjoyed in freedom. The quality of the wool on this coaſt is generally good, and would even be ſuſceptible of much perfection, were they more careful of their breed of ſheep, and in their choice of paſturage. The Moors employ a part of their fleeces in their own clothing and

carpets, and ſell the reſidue to foreign nations. There are few black ſheep found in the empire of Morocco. It is, perhaps, for this reaſon that the clothing of the Moors is generally white; and, for the contrary reaſon, we ſee in Spain whole diſtricts in the country, the people of which are clothed in grey and dark colours, becauſe that their ſheep are more variegated, and that black ſheep there are very numerous.

Oxen are tolerably plentiful in this part of Africa, but the breed is ſmall. The Engliſh, notwithſtanding the ſhackles which the Emperor in his policy thinks proper to lay on the exportation of oxen, continually obtain ſufficient for the maintenance of their garriſon at Gibraltar. The Moors ſalt their beef for their home conſumption, and thus preſerve it from year to year. Their raw hides form an object of conſiderable importance in their commerce, and are ſent in prodigious quantities to Marſeilles.

The

The camel is a part of the wealth of the Moors. It is an animal that requires little, and labours much. The Moors uſe them as well as oxen in agriculture, but more commonly for the carriage of their products, and other commercial objects, throughout the empire. The camel is a docile animal, which is taught to kneel down that he may be loaded with the greater facility; he is able to carry from ſix to eight hundred weight, according as he is more or leſs ſtrong: the country Moors alſo uſe him to travel journies; his ſtep is long and heavy, and his trot inſupportable to thoſe who are not accuſtomed to it; and he often carries a whole family, with all its luggage. The Caliph Omar uſed to travel upon a camel, taking with him his proviſions.

Naturaliſts no longer hold the erroneous opinion that the camel places himſelf back to back with his female to engender. That animal, tranquil by nature, is reſtleſs when in heat; and, after having tormented the female, to oblige her to crouch upon her knees, he himſelf does the ſame,

 while,

while, with his frothy tongue, he makes a very disagreeable humming. The conformation of the part of generation is such, that, strangely disproportioned, it forms a kind of angle, which seems to project and act by elastic motions.

The Moors of the country eat camel's flesh with a good appetite. The taste of this meat is insipid, and the broth it makes has a white tincture, unpleasing to the eye. Camel's milk is wholesome, cool, and light; it is in common usage in the south; and the sick, whose lungs are any way diseased, drink it medicinally.

This animal is of the utmost utility in hot climates and sandy countries. The sole of his foot is cartilaginous, and becomes callous, but cannot long endure in those countries that are humid and stony. The conformation of his stomach is such that he can remain several days without eating or drinking. Before he begins his journey, his keeper gives him an abundant portion of barley, and, as he chews the cud, he ruminates on this food as he tra-

vels,

vels, which lies in his ſtomach as a depoſit, to which he has recourſe when wanted. Water is in like manner preſerved in a receptacle, which nature has prepared, of various bladders, and which is rejected or re-ſwallowed in proportion as he becomes thirſty.

Horſes abound in the empire of Morocco, and are, in general, good; they are taught to endure fatigue, heat, cold, hunger, and thirſt. Beautiful horſes are, notwithſtanding, uncommon here; the Moors have not taken the ſame care as the Arabs have done to preſerve and improve their breed. The Emperor has ſtuds in vavarious provinces, and ſome governors alſo, who are very deſirous of pleaſing him, have the ſame; but this kind of induſtry is not generally encouraged; the exportation of horſes is prohibited, and the Emperor claims a right of ſelecting the beſt of every thing in kind, which naturally produces negligence in the inhabitants, ſince their cares could anſwer no purpoſes but thoſe of oppreſſion. The horſes in this part of Africa are broken

while very young, and treated with much roughneſs. They teach them to gallop full ſpeed, and inſtantly to ſtop ſhort, by which they ſoon are ſhook in the ſhoulders and lamed, and, when ſeven years old, are in general no longer fit for uſe.

In the ſouthern parts, where the Moors enjoy ſome ſmall degree of ſuperior freedom, becauſe they are not inſpected with equal attention, they are more careful in improving their breed of horſes, which are therefore finer in thoſe countries. The Moors of theſe provinces ſeldom ride any but mares; they are ſwifter, do not neigh*,

* Either the mares of Africa are very different from thoſe of Europe, which latter neigh as frequently as horſes, or this is a very ſtrange error, into which ſeveral French writers have fallen. A late very intelligent traveller, M. Volney, ſpeaking of the Bedouin Arabs, ſays, that the Arab mare is preferable to the horſe, becauſe, among other good qualities which he enumerates, ſhe does not neigh *. Yet neither M. Volney, nor the author of the preſent work, M. Chénier, make any diſtinction between the mares of Europe and Africa; and it is highly probable they have both taken this opinion upon truſt. T.

* Vide *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, par M. C. F. Volney, Tom. I. p. 372.

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and are better adapted for sudden attacks among people who are always in agitation because of their divisions. The mares and their colts are accustomed to enter the tents at night; they lie down among the children, and, when they turn, are very careful not to hurt them. This familiar kind of education makes these animals contract a vast affection for their masters, by whom they are highly pleased to be caressed.

Mules too are much in use among the Moors, who, under the present reign, have applied themselves industriously to encourage their breed, the exportation of them having been for some time permitted *. These animals are in daily use to perform journies and carry burdens; they are stronger than horses, do not require the same care nor quantity of food, and are more hardy. The Moorish cavalry are all mounted on horses, but private individuals

* Between the years 1765 and 1775 the English continually purchased and transported them to America; but an augmentation of the duties to be paid, and the revolution in America, has interrupted this trade.

ride

ride mules in preference; they are very careful in chuſing good ones, and accuſtom them to an amble, which does not fatigue, and which rids much ground. Thoſe of Fez are the fineſt, and go the beſt: many of them likewiſe come from the neighbourhood of Tunis.

Poultry is abundant in the empire of Morocco, but it is of a very indifferent kind. The pigeons are excellent, and ſome of them very large. Partridges are plentiful, but their fleſh has very little taſte. Woodcocks are exceedingly ſcarce; but, in return, ſnipes are numerous in the ſeaſon: hares here are generally good, and of the middle ſize: rabbits are not found, except in the northern part of the empire from Laracha to Tetuan.

The empire of Morocco contains fallow deer, the roebuck, the antelope, with foxes, and numbers of animals, known in Europe; but theſe are not in general often ſeen, becauſe they are hunted, or elſe that wild beaſts deſtroy the breed imperceptibly. Lions and tigers are not uncommon

in

in ſome parts of the empire; they haunt the foreſts or vallies in the neighbourhood of rivers. Theſe animals do not often depart far from their lairs, unleſs greatly provoked by hunger; but they always find prey in the deſtruction of young boars, which breed in theſe foreſts, or in carrying off the cows and ſheep which come to graze in the neighbourhood of their haunts. What are called tigers in this part of Africa are only leopards; the royal tiger is there unknown.

The Moors, and more eſpecially thoſe who inhabit the mountains, willingly go in chace of lions and tigers, lying in watch for them with their guns in the neighbourhood of their watering places. The better to ſecure themſelves, they climb trees to ſhoot them as they paſs, taking care to provide themſelves with hatchets to attack the tiger, which runs up trees with facility. I have known a Moor, of no extraordinary ſtrength, who had himſelf killed one-and-twenty lions.

When

When the Moors wish to take the lions alive, they dig deep ditches, where they put meat, having covered the ditch with leaves, ſcattered over reeds. The lion, attracted by the bait, falls into the ditch, and is caught in ſnares, or nooſes. It is ſtill more common to take them in wooden traps, which cloſe upon them as the lions are ſtepping over. When the Moors are obliged to encamp, in places where lions make their appearance, they keep lighted fires to drive them off. It has often happened that theſe animals, approaching the encampments, have carried off mules from their paſture. On a certain occaſion one of the negroes of a Princeſs, who, to avoid working, had gone to a diſtance from the camp, and was ſleeping at his eaſe, was devoured by a lion.

The Moors of the country relate many tales in confirmation of what has been ſo often repeated concerning the generoſity of this animal. I have been aſſured that a Brebe, who went to hunt the lion, having proceeded far into a foreſt, happened to meet with two lions whelps that came to careſs him:

him: the hunter ſtopped with the little animals, and, waiting for the coming of the ſire, or the dam, took out his breakfaſt, and gave them a part. The lioneſs arrived unperceived by the huntſman, ſo that he had not time, or, perhaps, wanted the courage to take to his gun. After having for ſome-time looked at the man that was thus feaſting her young, the lioneſs went away, and ſoon after returned, bearing with her a ſheep, which ſhe came and laid at the huntſman's feet.

The Brebe, thus become one of the family, took this occaſion of making a good meal, ſkinned the ſheep, made a fire, and roaſted a part, giving the entrails to the young. The lion, in his turn, came alſo, and, as if reſpecting the rights of hoſpitality, ſhewed no tokens whatever of ferocity. Their gueſt the next day, having finiſhed his proviſions, returned, and came to a reſolution never more to kill any of theſe animals, the noble generoſity of which he had ſo fully proved. He ſtroked and careſſed the whelps at taking leave of them, and the dam and the ſire accompanied

panied him till he was ſafely out of the foreſt.

This animal, which the ancients have called the King of beaſts, does not attack men who do not run from him, but look on him without fear; at leaſt, not unleſs hard driven by hunger. It may be that the temperature of the climate, or the freedom in which they range, may occaſion theſe animals to be leſs ferocious in Africa than they are in Europe, where they are ſhut up in dens. The Moors ſay that, in ſome provinces, the very women and children will drive them, by only hallooing after them, away from their habitations.

The Emperor of Morocco keeps lions and tigers in open ditches, which are exceedingly deep and vaſt, as well for ſtate as to ſend them, by way of preſent, to the Sovereigns of Europe. The Jews, whoſe department it is to daily take them their food, aſcend and deſcend their ditches, without the leaſt apprehenſion, and govern animals ſo fierce and voracious with a ſwitch. I kept a young tiger ſome time at

my houſe, which had been given me by a governor of one of their provinces. He was put in a great cage, and the ſervants played with him familiarly, without ever receiving the leaſt injury.

The wild boar, of all the ſpecies of ferocious animals found in this empire, is the moſt common. The ſow has ſeveral litters in the year, and her young are numerous. They ſerve as food for the lion. Whenever the lion diſcovers in the foreſt the ſow and her litter of pigs, he drags himſelf, with his belly on the ground, and deſcribes a large circle, leaving only a ſmall opening, near which he lies in watch. The ſow, wiſhing to get away with her young, follows the circle which the lion has deſcribed, but does not paſs it, becauſe of the ſmell he has left behind, till coming, at length, to the only interval where ſhe does not find the ſame fetid odour, ſhe ruſhes precipitately forward, and the lion leaps and ſeizes on his prey.

There have been examples of boars that have ripped up lions with their tuſks;

but theſe muſt be regarded as particular caſes and exceptions, and not as a rule that ſhall in any wiſe make the lion cede his ſuperiority to the boar.

The inhabitants of the country, and thoſe who live among the mountains, eat the fleſh of the boar without ſcruple, though it is forbidden food by the law, as well as that of the lion. The fleſh of the latter, which appeared to me coarſe grained and ſinewy, muſt be very tough. Its ſcent is ſo ſtrong that a dog, to which I once preſented ſome, the moment he had noſed it, ſhrunk back with fear.

BOOK II.

Religion — Government — Laws — State of Knowledge — Language — Character — Manners and Customs.

CHAP. I.

Of the Religion of the Empire of Morocco.

THE religion of the Moors is Mahometanism; observed with the greater rigidity, or probably increased in bigotry by superstitious practices, because these people may have preserved ceremonies of their ancient worship, or introduced such as they may have received from other nations.

The Moors follow the tradition or sect of the Iman Abdallah Melek, or Melu, who was one of the four commentators on

the Koran. They hold in equal refpect the works of Abu-Abdallah-Mahomet-Ben-Ifhmael-El-Boccari, who collected and reduced into a fyftematic form the oral traditions of Mahomet.

Africa has produced more reformers and enthufiafts than the other countries where the Mahometan religion has been received. Hence it has happened among the Moors, that numerous fuperftitions have been added, which the ignorance and credulity of the people have confounded with their religion. Although the weftern Mahometans and the Turks have the fame worfhip, in its general acceptation, their practice of it is, in fome refpects, different. Exclufive of the mofque, in which the Moors offer up their prayers, they have chapels, or meetings, confecrated to the devotion of individuals, who regularly meet every evening, and fing either paffages from the Koran, or prayers which they have compofed. They alfo fing when they bury the dead, and pay the moft fuperftitious devotion to their faints. As the Turks have none of thefe feparate affemblies, which

which ſeem foreign to the ſpirit of Mahometaniſm, it may be preſumed that the Moors have adopted the frequenting of them from the Morabethoons, who, though no Derviſes, were more auſtere in the obſervation of their worſhip. It is poſſible, alſo, that they may have brought this practice out of Spain.

In all Mahometan ſtates a kind of Monks, or Derviſes, are found, who dedicate themſelves to religion by vows, and who, under the veil of pretended perfection and abſurd peculiarities, multiply and take advantage of the credulity of the uninformed. The Turks of Europe are not in general much addicted to monaſtic inſtitutions; yet the rich and great among them, out of policy and reſpect to the opinions of the multitude, admit theſe hypocrites in their houſes; but there are few of them in whom they place any confidence.

In proportion as we enter farther into Aſia, or the interior parts of Arabia, and in Egypt, where enthuſiaſm and the bi-

goted ſpirit of ſuperſtition ſeem to ferment with the heat, thoſe monkiſh kind of ſanctuaries, in which the pretended ſaints, called Santons, live, are ſeen more frequently, and held in greater veneration. Some of theſe Santons mortify themſelves by various means; but moſt of them are vagrants; the buffoneries of whom are, however, reſpected by the vulgar, and who there are held in the ſame veneration as here by the Moors of Morocco.

Saintſhip in this part of Africa is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed, and, perhaps, moſt lucrative profeſſions; it is a family inheritance, deſcending from father to ſon, and ſometimes from maſter to ſervant. A Saint as naturally affirms that he is a Saint as a tailor tells you he is a tailor; and the number of theſe ſelf-ſaid holy men is increaſed, becauſe that fools, madmen, and ideots, are acknowledged ſaints. With reſpect, however, to their pretended miracles, thoſe the fools never affect to perform. The houſe, the ſanctuary, and the land of a Saint of repute, for they are not all in equal credit, form an inviolable aſylum;

and

and theſe aſylums, known to the earlieſt times, which originally were only places of refuge againſt tyranny and oppreſſion, have inſenſibly extended their privileges. The Deſpots of Morocco, ceding to their paſſions and arbitary power, have occaſionally violated them; but, intereſted as they are to maintain the prejudices of their people, they have almoſt always held them in reſpect *.

These

* The following extract of a narrative, written by ſome French Miſſionaries, who, in the year 1723, were ſent to Morocco for the redemption of captives, affords a lively picture of the power, as well as avidity of theſe Saints:—" A criminal took refuge in the houſe of one of their Saints; the " Emperor commanded he ſhould be brought to juſtice, and " puniſhed for his crime: but no one durſt enter and ſeize " him, becauſe of the reſpect they had for the houſe of the " Saint to which he had fled: the Emperor was ſo angry " that he went himſelf, apparently with an intent to inflict " puniſhment with his own hands. The guardians of the " houſe of the Saint remonſtrated that the Imperial dignity " was not ſuperior to their law, which forbade the taking " of any criminal out of the houſe of a reputed Saint; but, " they farther repreſented, there was one means of making " him quit this houſe, which was to write a reſpectful " letter to the Saint, and with it ſend him a preſent, praying " that it might pleaſe him to expel the fugitive, and the " guardians would then drive him forth, ſo that he might be " ſeized. The Emperor thought proper to comply; the

 " letter

These Saints, whose sanctuaries are infinitely numerous, do not all enjoy the same species of holy virtue; the Moors invoke some of them for the cure of their diseases, others to obtain fertility for their lands, or success in their undertakings. Women subject themselves to a nine-day's abstinence to obtain children, and these kind of Saints are the oftenest invoked, and perform the most miracles. Some of them pretend to have charms against wizards, sorcerers, the poison of serpents, and other venomous insects, with which they play. I have seen them eat scorpions.

There is a sect in the south called Ben-Haissa, descendants of Joshua, who, in their wild fanatic devotion, run, leap, dance, and, extatic in this their intoxica-

"letter was written, in his name, to the Saint, and the present sent; but, as the Emperors and Bashaws seldom think proper thus to condescend, or to bear this expence, crimes generally remain unpunished." T.

Relation du voyage pour la redemption des Captifs. Par les peres Jean de la Faye, &c.

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tion, which becomes furious, they fall foaming upon any animal they find. A tale is related concerning a troop of theſe madmen, who once tore an aſs in pieces with their teeth, and eat it up raw. The veneration of the people for ſuch crazy Saints is incredible; they careſs them, fondle over, coax them, and uſe every means to quiet them during theſe fits of phrenzy.

The moſt tranquil Saints, however, inſpire the greateſt devotion: there often come ſome to the cities, who make their public entry on horſeback, preceded by a flag, and followed by foot people, who run after and attend them in multitudes, all hoping to approach the Saint, who lays his hand upon the head of the Moor, and the latter, kiſſing his garments, imagines himſelf, after this ceremony, abſolved and purified from ſin,

It will eaſily be conſidered how much the rigours of a government, which al-

ways inſpire agitation and terror, contribute to the increaſe of ſuperſtition among the Moors; their intimidated minds habitually yield to every new fear: thus, they are ſeen performing journies of five or ſix days from their places of abode, and bearing offerings to invoke ſome Saint in faſhion, that they may merit, by his heavenly interceſſions, the favour of their Sovereign, his confidence, or ſome temporal proſperity. The Moors of the country never fail, after harveſt, to perform a viſit of pilgrimage to the Saint whom they have moſt in reverence, carrying him their firſt fruits in homage, and as a mark of gratitude.

Their prieſts, their judges, all the learned in the law, every well-informed perſon, together with their Sharifs, or nobles, are, among the Moors, held to be holy; their veneration extends even to the very Chriſtian prieſts, and more particularly to thoſe friars who wear the coarſe habits, deſcribed by the Koran; ſuch as

were

were worn during the firſt ages of Mahometaniſm *.

Madmen, ideots, and dotards, are ſuppoſed by theſe people to be poſſeſſed by a divine ſpirit. Some, cunningly profiting by this fanatic prejudice, have acted the madman, that they might obtain an eaſy and good maintenance; but there are a number of poor imbecile people, whom the Moors kindly aſſiſt, and perform acts of charity in their behalf, highly to their honour.

Saintſhip thus being a trade among the Moors, the myſtery of the profeſſion conſiſts in the inventing of the means to take advantage of popular credulity. Among

* The Koran having been reviſed in the ſeventh century, under the caliphate of Omar, this Caliph recommended the friars, who were then at Jeruſalem, and whom he diſcribed by the coarſe garments in which they were clothed, to be held in veneration. Theſe have been ſuppoſed to be Franciſcan Friars, who have the keeping of the holy ſepulchre; but they were Greek Monks, without a doubt, whoſe habit the firſt Franciſcans imitated, the latter order not having been founded till the twelfth century.

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the number of Saints whom I have known, for it is neceſſary, in ſome degree, to have friends of every claſs, there was one who was exceedingly ſenſible and judicious in private ſociety, but who in public affected every extravagance which the wildneſs of imagination could prompt; and the ſallies in which he indulged himſelf were regarded as inſpirations. He often would paſs whole days and nights in imitating the firing of cannon and the exploſion of bombs, which the Moors ſuppoſed to be preſages, ſometimes of good, ſometimes of ill; and the leaſt alteration in the ſeaſons, in the weather, or the common courſe of events, was held a full accompliſhment of theſe ridiculous predictions. This artful impoſtor who, notwithſtanding, poſſeſſed moral virtues, did ſome good; and the Moors of the country, who looked upon him as one inſpired, laid aſide a portion of their profits for him, and very ſcrupulouſly brought him their firſt fruits. Notwithſtanding I no way aided him in performing his miracles, he would ſometimes invite me to partake of his offerings; and I have often

often rallied him on the cunning and prudence with which he played the fool.

There would be no end to this narrative, were I to recount all the tricks of a number of impoſtors, whom the Moors venerate, ſuppoſing them to be holy. There certainly are ſome among them, who are well-meaning people, that inſpire confidence, and are themſelves ſerious in their profeſſions; but much the greateſt part merit exemplary puniſhment for the abuſes they commit on ignorant credulity. There was one at Tetuan who, having in open day met women coming from the bath, after acting ſome convulſive diſtortions, ſeized on one of the moſt youthful, and had commerce with her in the midſt of the ſtreet. Her companions, who ſurrounded her, uttered exclamations of joy, felicitated her on her good fortune, and the huſband himſelf received complimentary viſits on this occaſion; ſuch is the contrariety, ſuch the caprice of opinion, and ſuch the power of imagination over man.

Not

Not far from Saffi, on the high road, is the ſanctuary of a female Saint, who, during her life, had devoted herſelf to the ſervice of paſſengers; and this proſtitution is the only claim to that veneration in which her memory is preſerved. Thus do qualities, moſt ſingularly oppoſite, and which every where influence the mind, ſometimes conſecrate crimes, making them holy and religious acts, and building temples even to debauchery.

The ſanctuaries of the Saints throughout the empire are very numerous; there are ſome to which vaſt poſſeſſions are annexed, and whoſe aſylum is inviolable by the antiquity of their titles *. Within theſe lands they ſcarcely acknowledge the authority of the Emperor; the Saint only to whom the aſylum is conſecrated, is reſpected. To the ſouthward, where men's imaginations are moſt diſpoſed to enthuſiaſm,

* This reſpect for Sanctuaries is deſcended from the moſt ancient times. Alaric, at the ſacking of Rome, enjoined his ſoldiers to ſpare the blood of thoſe who ſhould have taken refuge in any ſanctuary.

thefe fanctuaries are ftill more multiplied, the Saints are held in ftill greater veneration, and their religion is fuch that they will not permit Chriftians or Jews to approach thefe holy places.

So great was the afcendancy of this kind of devotion that it was cuftomary, in times of civil commotion, to travel under the fafeguard of a Saint, and the traveller was then protected from all infult. The fame kind of prejudice is the caufe that a Saint is generally found travelling with the cafiles, or caravans, where he is confidered as a prefervative againft all unfortunate accidents; and he may travel from one part of the empire to the other without being at any expence.

The habitations of the Saints are always befide the fanctuary, or tomb, of their anceftors, which they take care to adorn. Some of them poffefs clofe to their houfes, gardens, trees, or cultivated grounds, and particularly fome fpring or well of water. I was once travelling in the fouth in the beginning of October, when

when the ſeaſon happened to be exceedingly hot, and the wells and rivulets of the country were all dried up. We had neither water for ourſelves nor for our horſes; and, after having taken much fruitleſs trouble to obtain ſome, we went and paid homage to a Saint, who, at firſt, pretended a variety of ſcruples before he would ſuffer infidels to approach; but on promiſing to give him ten or twelve ſhillings, he became exceedingly humane, and ſupplied us with as much water as we wanted; ſtill, however, vaunting highly of his charity, and particularly of his diſintereſtedneſs.

On the mountain of Aſkroo, at ſome diſtance from Fez, there formerly lived a Saint, whom the Brebes and Jews claim with equal devotion; the common opinion is, he was a Jew, who was buried in this part of Africa long before the introduction of Mahometaniſm. The wives of the Brebes and Jews who are deſirous of obtaining children, devoutly go, on foot, and climb to the top of this mountain, where is the ſanctuary of the Saint. Near to this

this ſanctuary, or tomb, is a laurel tree, that, for ſeveral ages, has revived from its own roots, which eaſily perſuades ſuperſtitious people that the divine property of this Saint was that of prolific virtue.

The propenſity of theſe people to ſuperſtition, enthuſiaſm, and fanaticiſm, not only makes them reverence their Saints, but inſpires them with a veneration for ſuch Moors as have made the pilgrimage of Mecca, and by that holy act are ſuppoſed to have acquired an increaſe of perfection. They eagerly flock to meet them when they return, and this day is kept as a feſtival by the family of the *Hadgy*, for ſo thoſe Mahometans are called who go on pilgrimage to Mecca, becauſe that this conſecrated city is ſituated in the province of Hagias.

When a Moor, on his return from Mecca, re-enters the city in which he dwells, preceded by drums and hautboys, and followed by relations and friends, he beſtows a holy embrace on all he meets; and though before he was held an ignorant

vaga-

vagabond, he aſſumes, on this day, a hypocritical gravity, which impoſes upon people eager to ſee and believe in wonders, and who croud to be hugged by him and receive an infuſion of his virtue. The veneration for theſe *Hadgy* is ſo great among the Moors, that it extends to the very animals; a camel that has been on pilgrimage to Mecca is well fed, and maintained without work, and is allowed to graze freely wherever he ſhall ſtray.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Pilgrimage to Mecca.

THE pilgrimage to Mecca is impoſed by the law of Mahomet, but is diſpenſed with on the moſt trivial pretext. As the Mahometans, however, attribute to this pilgrimage the remiſſion of all their ſins, the moſt ſcrupulous and devout are very deſirous to undertake it, and eaſe their conſciences. The journey is ſtill more meritorious for the weſtern Mahometans than for the others, becauſe of the difficulties and dangers to which they are expoſed in traverſing the whole extent of Africa. The caravan aſſembles at Fez with great preparations, thence takes its departure *,

* The time of this departure is not fixed; it varies as the feſtivals of the Mahometans happen to vary: it is only neceſſary to arrive at Cairo about the ſeaſon in which the feſtival of the Ramadan is kept; the caravan departs thirty days after, and comes to Mecca before the Corban, or the feaſt of ſacrifices.

and crosses the lesser Atlas to come into the neighbourhood of Tunis, where it lays in a fresh store of provisions; the same is repeated at Tripoli, and it rests awhile at this last place. It next proceeds across the deserts of Barca over moving sands, which are blown and changed by every wind, and which leave no trace to guide the traveller.

When the winds of the south or the east begin to blow, the caravan is endangered, because these winds, passing over burning plains, bear with them a suffocating heat. Obliged to halt, the camels are formed into a kind of shelter, under which the travellers, extended on the ground, endeavour to guard themselves from this dangerous wind.

Camels are the only animals which can withstand the fatigues of this painful journey, and that because of the facility with which they can support labour, hunger, and thirst. There are always supernumerary camels to supply the places of those that shall die on the road. The dying

ing camels are a kind of alms for thofe poor Moors, for fuch there are, who always follow the caravan: the poor, being defirous to expiate their fins as well as the rich, flock to Mecca for abfolution; when a camel can travel no farther, he is delivered over to thefe hungry followers, who kill him immediately, rip him up, drink with avidity the water, which ftill remains in the veficles of the ftomach, and then drefs and eat his flefh *.

* See page 166 concerning the conformation of the ftomach of the camel

CHAP. III.

Of the Feſtivals of the Moors.

AS feſtivals are intimately connected with religion, I ſhall ſpeak a few words of thoſe of the Moors. The Oriental Mahometans by no means keep ſo many feſtivals as the Catholic Chriſtians; but the Mahometans of the weſt have multiplied them, and obſerved them with much greater zeal than do the Ottomans. It appears to be a general rule that the people who enjoy leaſt wealth, and freedom, are thoſe who, by way of compenſation, are moſt deſirous of keeping feſtivals. The Turks keep the paſſover of Biram, or Bayram, which follows their lent, only three days, and they dedicate the like ſpace of time to that of the Corban, which happens ſeventy days after.

The

The Mahometans celebrate the latter festival, which signifies oblation, or the feast of sacrifices, by offering up one or several sheep each family, the flesh of which is carefully distributed among the poor.

The Emperor of Morocco holds this festival without the city that more people may assemble, and thus preserves the custom the Moors had of praying in the open fields before they were converted to Mahometanism. He sends a slain sheep to his palace by a horseman, and, if the heart palpitates when it arrives there, this is interpreted to be a good omen. Neither the origin nor the motive of this superstitious custom are at present known.

The two festivals above mentioned are the only ones which the Mahometans of the east observe with great ceremony, and the people do not labour during these three days. The Moors, either because they are more devout, or less industriously inclined, keep each of these festirals eight days; they do the same on the anniversary of Mahomet, which they

call Milood; and alſo at the feſtival of the new year, which they celebrate ten days after its commencement. It is the cuſtom at this latter feſtival to beſtow alms, as it is in ſome parts of Europe to ſend new years' gifts. On this occaſion the Moors are, many of them, very ready and eager to receive; but thoſe who are capable of giving, very œconomically, ſtay at home ſhut up in their houſes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of Alms-giving and Hoſpitality.

MAHOMET made alms-giving a very principal article in his religion; but it is obſerved with much leſs generoſity among the Moors than among the Turks. Very few beggars are to be found in Turkey, and alms are ſo properly diſtributed to them as to prevent their increaſe. There, too, hoſpitality is ſo regularly obſerved that the houſe is open, at meal-time, to all who wiſh to enter. The ſame cuſtom is alſo found among the Moors, who are ſomewhat at their eaſe, and perſons of diſtinction; but it is by no means in the ſame general uſe; becauſe, in reality, neither their wants nor their wealth are the ſame.

The Mahometan religion ſeems to enjoy an advantage over every other in teaching

a more perfect reſignation to the decrees of Providence. Muſſulmen, of all the religious ſectaries, are the leaſt affected by the viciſſitudes of fortune, or the loſs of riches, employments, and honours. This patience, under ſufferings, ſeems effectually to prove a more perfect ſubmiſſion to the will of the Supreme Being, and a more intimate perſuaſion that every accident and circumſtance of life are, without exception, the invariable decrees of deſtiny.

The concluſions drawn from this doctrine ought to afford preſervatives againſt every kind of ſuperſtition ; to which, notwithſtanding, the Mahometans, and particularly the Moors, are utterly addicted ; it is the intereſt of their Prieſts (as it ſeems to have been thought that of all other Prieſts) to encourage ſuch ſilly weakneſſes that they themſelves may obtain more reſpect, and give the greater credit to their amulets againſt ſickneſs, the malice of the evil-eyed, and the influences of ſpirits and demons. Theſe amulets contain paſſages of the Koran ſown between two bits of morocco in a round, ſquare,

ſquare, or triangular, form, and which the people carry about them, and make their children carry, nay, their very beaſts, to prevent every kind of accident and evil augury.

The Moors invoke the Saint, whom they hold moſt in devotion, with the like confidence, praying him to guard them from any ſuppoſed danger. Theſe people may have adopted ſuch ſuperſtitions before, or after, they became Mahometans; but they are, certainly, not only foreign to, but appear to be irreconcileable with, the law of predeſtination. It would be a vain attempt to endeavour to explain all the various, abſurd, and contradictory opinions of men.

CHAP. V.

Of the Government of the Empire of Morocco.

NO government can be imagined more abſolute than that of Morocco: it is ſubordinate to no one invariable principle which ſhall reſtrain the will of the Monarch, or which may ſerve as a baſis of public confidence. Certain of the blind ſubmiſſion of his ſubjects, or ſlaves, the Deſpot here unites in himſelf every kind of power; all is dependant on his arbitrary will; he makes, breaks, changes, and varies, the laws, according to the caprice, the convenience, or the intereſt, of the moment. Supreme power is here wholly uncontrolled, having, apparently, nothing to fear.

The ſubject throughout this empire cannot

not ſay, of any thing, this is mine; not even of his opinion, or his exiſtence: his maſter deprives him of property, or of life, whenever it ſhall ſo pleaſe him, he holding them merely as a depoſit. The fortune, or fate of men, in a government ſo deſpotic, cannot acquire the leaſt ſtability: to be rich, is to be guilty of a capital crime, which the Deſpot puniſhes, how and when he pleaſes, according as avarice incites.

It may be that there are governments in Aſia equally arbitrary and deſpotic; but to be more ſo than that of Morocco is impoſſible. The Grand Signior, who is held to be an abſolute Prince, cannot, in every point of view, ſo be called: he is himſelf held in reſtraint by the laws of the State, and aſſumes a right over the life and property of individuals only in concurrence with theſe laws: on them are founded the all-ſovereign power of Turkey; but this power may alſo from them receive checks. If the Sultan be allowed to put thoſe to death who are in the adminiſtration of affairs, it is becauſe that the miniſters of State

State are his ſlaves, and he therefore has the power of life and death over them. By puniſhing them for their exactions, and confiſcating their property for the benefit of the national treaſury, he conſoles the oppreſſed people, who conſider ſuch acts as juſt, and think the Deſpot ought ſometimes thus to take public vengeance, and reſtore public tranquillity. This treaſury they conſider as the property of the People, and not merely of the Prince.

Neither has the Grand Signior the power to ſeize, for the uſe of the treaſury, the effects of a Viſier, when made over in reverſion to moſques. His wealth, in conſequence of this title of poſſeſſion, or reverſion, becomes ſacred and inviolable by a law which religion ſanctions; and the Deſpot, who ſhould dare to violate that law, would no longer enjoy his rights of ſovereignty; for the People no longer reſpect thoſe rights than while they are ſuppoſed to be according to law.

At Conſtantinople the men of the law, in whom are united Juriſprudence and the Sacer-

Sacerdotal office, form an insurmountable barrier to the despotism of the Sovereign; and this is, there, the balance of power. The legislative body influences the civil and political operations, decides on war and peace; and the destiny of the Sultan himself has sometimes depended on its resolutions and its caprices. At Morocco the will of the Monarch knows no such bounds: the Despot, according to his good pleasure, makes war and peace; his determinations are neither subordinate to a Council nor a Divan; they depend only on his convenience and his will, and he acts without restraint.

Yet the Despot of Morocco does not, by any act of authority, seize upon his neighbour's wife; he does not commit open violation on legal engagements: that would be to reverse the whole order of things, and subvert his own power. These slavish people in him behold the representative of Divinity; and, were he not to respect their received opinions and prejudices, all would be overturned, since these are the sacred ties of the public confidence,

dence, and, by tearing off this bandage, he muſt reſtore the blind to ſight.

In this barbarous government, the ſubject, who is a cypher in the State, wiſhes to remain unknown, and hide himſelf from his maſter's preſence. Princes and Kings, who ought, when raiſed over other men, to watch for their welfare, and by exerting the nobleſt qualities of man gain their love and reſpect, in Morocco inſpire only fears and terror.

The Emperor of Morocco entruſts no one with the adminiſtration of his eſtates: Such miniſters, indeed, ſeem incompatible with a government where all is ſubordinate to the arbitrary will of the Sovereign. This Monarch would ſuppoſe his power enfeebled, were he to tranſmit a portion of his authority to one of his ſlaves; he inſpects all, and employs himſelf with equal intereſt, whether it be to re-eſtabliſh order in a province, or to regulate ſome domeſtic diſpute; and as his reſolutions are always determined according to the conveniency of

of the moment, they neceſſarily vary with each varying circumſtance.

All perſons in the ſervice of the Deſpot are no more in Morocco than the organs and inſtruments of his pleaſure: their offices are not fixed, or ſtated; one ends what another has begun; contradictory orders are often iſſued on the ſame day, and he who receives them knows not which he had beſt execute.

The ſecretaries and agents of the Prince, who are very numerous, have neither any certain employment nor pay; their journies, and the ſmall expences they are at in his ſervice, are wholly gratuitous; and the Emperor leaves the means of reimburſing and rewarding themſelves for their labours to their own addreſs.

The Mooriſh monarchs have not the ſame ideas with European ſovereigns concerning the adhering to their word; they, perhaps, regard that reſpect which men and kings owe to the engagements they enter into as giving limits to ſupreme power:

power: "Takeſt thou me for an infidel," ſaid an Emperor of Morocco to a foreigner, "that I muſt be the ſlave of my word? "Is it not in my power to ſay and unſay "whenever I ſhall pleaſe?" Such are the ſtrange opinions they hold of their own puiſſance, by which they ſuppoſe they may rid themſelves of every thing moſt ſacred*.

What is called the Court in Europe, that is to ſay, an aſſemblage of thoſe who moſt immediately govern the ſtate, is expreſſed by the word *Magaſin*. All people attached to the ſervice of the Sovereign are alſo called Magaſini †. By Magaſin is un-

* John, King of France, was taken priſoner at the battel of Poitiers, in 1356, and, afterward, preferred returning priſoner to England to any violation of his word. "Were "truth, ſaid he, baniſhed from the reſt of the world, it ſtill "ought to be found in the mouths of kings."

† The word Magaſin is only a corruption of the Arabic words *Mal-Haſue*, a place where riches are depoſited. Haſne, ſtanding alone, ſignifies the treaſure of the Prince. It ſhould ſeem probable that we alſo have derived our word, Magaſin, in French, in Engliſh, Magazine, from the Arabic; it having exactly the ſame meaning.

derſtood a cloſe and reſpected place, and ſuch in diſtinction ought a court to be among an erratic nation who live under tents.

The principal officers attached to the ſervice of the Emperor, whom he diſtinguiſhes by the name of Sabo, that is to ſay, friends or companions, are employed as domeſtics in the palace. So, in the time of Mahomet, Abdallah, his father-in-law, took care of his pillow, his toothpick, and his ſhoes. Such employments at the court of Morocco are only honorary, giving thoſe who enjoy them an opportunity of approaching the perſon of the Prince, and the favours he beſtows are their only revenue.

In whatever part of his empire the Monarch happens to be, he grants public audiences four times a week for the diſtribution of juſtice; and this the Moors call holding the *Meſhooar*. While performing theſe functions, the original inſtitution of which were equally reſpectable to King and People, he ſits on horſeback under the

cover of an umbrella, carried by one of his grooms; and this, in Morocco, is the ſole diſtinctive mark of royalty. He is ſurrounded by his principal officers, who approach his perſon, and by a number of ſoldiers under arms. Here the aſcendancy of opinion, and the whole power of deſpotiſm, are beheld. The Janizaries, and all ſoldiers at the court of the Grand Signior, are unarmed; and, were not this precaution taken, revolutions would be exceedingly frequent at Conſtantinople. The Janizaries, who have performed any remarkable ſervices, are there acquainted with their power; but the military ſlaves of Morocco are acquainted only with the power of their maſter.

All Moors, without exception, who have any complaint or remonſtrance to make, have the liberty to come to the Meſhooar, or public audience. Here too the couriers, who have been ſent with intelligence to the Emperor, are announced, and the contents of their diſpatches made known to him; he is informed in an inſtant of what paſſes in his ſtates, and gives neceſ-

ſary

ſary orders accordingly to the Alcaids, Secretaries, or other officers, who are always in his train ready to execute his commands.

The proceſs of juſtice is exceedingly ſwift on theſe occaſions; the ſentence of the maſter is without appeal. I was at the public audience held at Mequinez in July 1775, when the Emperor cauſed a governor of the province of Rif to be killed by clubs, after firſt having had his hands cut off, and his body was caſt into the open fields *. The Monarch, all in agitation, alighted from his horſe to kiſs the earth, and pay homage to God for this act of juſtice. Having mounted again, he bade me approach; and I had an audience of conſiderable length.

As the Emperor of Morocco receives, during theſe public audiences, the viſits of

* This governor was puniſhed as a traitor. He had been ſuſpected of a clandeſtine intercourſe with the governor of Melilla during the ſiege of that place, and had afterwards manifeſtly diſobeyed the orders of the Emperor.

Ambaſſadors, conſuls, merchants, or other foreigners: affairs are here treated of publicly. Whatever requires ſecreſy and diſcretion is either given in writing or told to confidential perſons, if ſuch can be found among theſe people, and in a court where there is no other ſyſtem than that of the intereſt and convenience of the moment.

No one is admitted to theſe public audiences without a preſent proportionate to his wealth or ſtation, or to the nature of the affairs concerning, and the circumſtances under, which he is obliged to treat. Foreigners uſually make preſents to all thoſe who are attached to the ſervice of the Emperor; and theſe perſons often invent or give birth to meſſages, true or falſe, from the Monarch, that they may multiply the contributions. The Moors are leſs expoſed to theſe trifling vexations, which, from cuſtom, are become law; yet they do not preſent themſelves without offering ſome homage of their ſubmiſſion. The governors of provinces give money, ſlaves, horſes, and camels; private perſons preſent

ſent haicks, carpets, cloths, or other effects; a poor Moor will offer an old horſe, or camel, two ſheep, a goat, nay, even three hens, or a dozen of eggs.

This reſpectable cuſtom, by which the Emperor admits all people to his audience, and there renders public juſtice, is ſome allay, ſome melioration, of the rigours of the government, and a conſolation to ſubjects ever expoſed to oppreſſion. It reſtrains the ſtill greater abuſes of authority which they elſe might ſuffer from the governors of provinces and cities, to whom alone, becauſe of the diſtance at which they live, the ſovereign is obliged to confide a conſiderable degree of his power, and deſpotiſm paſſes from the maſter to the ſlave.

The governors, or baſhaws, excluſively, regulate the police of their diſtricts; they are careful to increaſe the revenue by their authority, or by taking advantage of the altercations which the ſpirit of inquietude raiſes among the Moors. When theſe baſhaws have amaſſed riches, the Emperor is equally careful to ſtrip them; and this

is a kind of retributive juſtice, which turns to the benefit of his treaſury; money, in this government, conſtitutes the crime, or obtains the pardon of the accuſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Laws and Administration of civil and criminal Justice.

THERE is no code of laws in the empire of Morocco, but instead of a civil they have a religious code; the practice of jurisprudence is reduced to the application of certain principles, to be found in the Koran and its commentators, and in a practical knowledge of the precedents established in the various jurisdictions. There are Cadis and governors in the cities and countries for the administration of justice; and notaries, or *Talbes*, to certify deeds, and all which relates to the security of property, whose pay is moderate.

All litigations concerning property, succession, and the various claims of interest,

are brought before the Cadi of each town, or of each diſtrict of the province; the parties ſometimes plead themſelves, but more often by attorney. Theſe ſuits are not loaded by forms; their proceedings are very ſimple, and attended with little expence. The Cadi, aſſiſted by ſome other men of the law, conſiders the pleadings and the various circumſtances, and gives ſentence according to the majority of opinions. Such ſentences are always founded on the law, the principles of which are extracted from the Koran, or on cuſtoms that, in certain diſcuſſions, ſupply the place of law.

Should the parties not be ſatisfied with the judgement given, they have the power of appeal to the Emperor; but this very rarely happens, for, in countries ſo poor, ſuits are not only very ſeldom of ſufficient conſequence to ſupport great expences, but the Moors alſo prefer the ſentence of the Cadi, or an accommodation, be it what it may, to the arbitrary judgement of the Monarch, It is policy among theſe people to hide as much as they can all knowledge of

of what their ſubſtance is from a maſter ſo abſolute, who might be liable to reconcile the parties, by ſeizing himſelf upon their property.

The governors of cities do not hear any of theſe litigated cauſes; authority with them ſupplies the place of law; their juriſdiction, unclogged by every kind of formality, extends over the police of the cities and the high roads, the regulation of markets, the price of proviſions, quarrels, thefts, aſſaults, and every thing in which the public ſafety is concerned. The judgements they give are always arbitrary, and generally conſiſt in diſtributing the baſtinado with equal liberality to the guilty and innocent *, committing them to

* Mr. Boſville and three other Engliſh gentlemen of fortune, whoſe honour and veracity are undoubted, but whoſe names, not being perſonally acquainted with them, I forbear to mention, were travelling in Morocco, in the year 1767. The mule-drivers, employed by Mr. Boſville and his companions, happened to quarrel with ſome other of the low people; they were all taken before the Alcaid. The noiſy, clamorous, and iraſcible Moors, unanimouſly called for vengeance on each other, all ſpeaking together. It

to ſome days impriſonment, whence they are releaſed by money, and in ſentencing them to pecuniary mulcts, which bear leſs proportion to the delinquency than to the wealth of the culprit, or the whim or convenience of the judge. The rich therefore rarely ſuffer any great puniſhment, * though they ſhould have been concerned in ſome criminal affair; and in this reſpect the Moors, in reality, do but reſemble moſt other nations.

The Moors ſeldom come to blows; when they quarrel, they will inſult and abuſe

It was a quarrel in bedlam. The ancient Alcaid, ſitting croſs-legged, with his black beard to his girdle, with great affectation of coolneſs and gravity, took the ſhorteſt and uſual method of quieting this uproar: he waved his hand and ordered the Moors all out, without examination, without any diſtinction, whatever, between guilty and innocent, to receive the baſtinado. This ended, they returned very calm, and little deſirous of farther hearing or *juſtice*.

I have the ſame Gentleman's teſtimony, and alſo that of ſeveral reſpectable merchants, who were perſonally acquainted with Mr. Chenier for the authenticity of the facts he relates, and the juſtneſs with which he depicts the manners of the Moors. They are farther confirmed, alſo, by the beſt writers on Morocco; French and Engliſh; Travellers and Hiſtorians. T.

each

each other, but not ſtrike. It is cuſtomary among them to chaſtiſe him who gave the firſt blow, as a kind of retaliation; after which he may, if he can, prove that his cauſe was good.

Although perſonal reſpect is paid in the States of Morocco to thoſe who are well informed, the legiſlative body has neither the power nor conſiſtence which it has in Turkey; the men of the law have no influence whatever over government, nor is there any intermediate power between the Sovereign and ſubject, the maſter and the ſlave. The Emperors of Morocco may have occaſionally conſulted people learned in the law, but it was to give an appearance of form and juſtice, and a greater degree of validity to their deciſions. Neither is this formality anywiſe neceſſary in Morocco; whereas it is indiſpenſable in Turkey, where the Mufti gives his opinion on whatever intereſts the State.

As thoſe who have ſtudied the law among the Moors are not held in the ſame degree of reſpect as among the Turks, the judges

judges are under more conſtraint in the exercise of their function; they literally follow the expreſſions of the law, and dare not take upon themſelves to ſoften or increaſe the ſentence. Thus thoſe remarkable and ſagacious judgments, which are often pronounced in Turkey, are unknown in the courts of Morocco. The Turkiſh Cadi ſagely follows the rules of equity, and departs from the letter of the law, when neceſſary, to increaſe or mitigate puniſhment.

There are numerous anecdotes among the Turks, which prove the good ſenſe, juſtneſs and penetration of their judges, in the deciſions they pronounce; as there likewiſe are of the art with which they make the office they hold profitable, and which is but a kind of annual farm. Such examples among the Moors are more uncommon and leſs marking; but in return they poſſeſs governors, who are exceedingly adroit, and whoſe ſubtilty in watching over all that concerns their adminiſtration can ſcarcely be exceeded.

Several

Several anecdotes are told of a governor of Fez, which merit to be cited, becauſe they contain traits of national character.

A young married woman had a lover, whom ſhe met clandeſtinely, and who, enraged with jealouſly, having ſome cauſe to ſuſpect her fidelity, ſtrangled her one night, and threw her into the river. Her body, waſhed by the current, was carried down to a mill, where her hair got entangled in the mill wheel; the miller perceiving it, went terrified to inform the governor, who commanded him to keep the ſecret, and bring him the head of the woman in a ſack.

The governor placed this head in a chamber, and ſent for the women who ſerve at the baths, that they might diſcover who ſhe was; he then ſtrongly recommended ſecreſy to theſe women, which they are not in this country very exact in obſerving. He immediately went to viſit the huſband, and queſtioned him concerning his wife—" She has been at the houſe " of her father ever ſince yeſterday," ſaid the

the Moor—"Concerning that we muſt "enquire," ſaid the Governor. The Governor and the huſband then went to the father, who ſaid it was true his daughter had come to ſee him the day before, but that ſhe had returned without making a moment's ſtay.

The Governor then accompanied the huſband to his own houſe, and ſhewed him the head of his wife, recommending him to diſſemble his affliction, and, having reconducted him home, aſked to ſee all his wife's clothes. After examining them piece by piece, he aſked the huſband whether it was he who had preſented her with them all. All were acknowledged by the huſband to have been his gifts, except a rich ſaſh, worked in ſilk and gold, of the manufacture of Fez.

The Governor took this ſaſh, and ſent for the workmen to know by whom it had been made, pretending he wanted one of the ſame pattern; the workmen, having made but three, declared who the different perſons were by whom they had been

been bought. Thus proceeding, ſtep by ſtep, he came to the knowledge of the lover who had committed the murder.

The Governor then ſent for this lover, and he, confeſſing his crime, prevailed on the other to keep the ſecret for a gift of three thouſand ducats, or about ſome eight hundred pounds; that is to ſay, one thouſand for himſelf, one thouſand for the huſband, and a thouſand for the father. The Governor gave the father a portion, ſuch as the law allowed, but ſent nothing to the huſband, holding that he was ſufficiently recompenſed in ſuffering no puniſhment for not having better watched the conduct of his wife. This was giving him a leſſon, the value of which ſeems beſt known among nations where the women are ſlaves, and where the name of huſband is ſynonymous to that of tyrant.

Another adventure of gallantry had alſo occaſioned the murder of another young woman. A ſcavenger, being well paid, carried the body very early in the morning, cut in ſmall pieces, upon his aſs, among the filth of

of the city. As he paſſed by the Governor the ſcavenger ſaluted him with an air of embarraſſment, which raiſed the ſuſpicions of the Governor, who had ſeen him paſs every day without any ſuch ceremony. The Governor, imagining there was ſome cauſe for this behaviour, called the ſcavenger, interrogated him with threats, and diſcovered the true motive of his confuſion, which he turned to his own account.

This ſame Governor having cited three young men to appear before him, who were accuſed of ſtealing pigeons of a rare ſpecies, made them a ſign to ſit down; then, addreſſing them, ſaid—"Thoſe who "would deny that they had ſtolen pigeons "ought, at leaſt, to take care not to leave "the feathers about their heads." One of the three, who was not yet old enough to have learnt diſſimulation and preſence of mind, immediately lifted up his hand to his bonnet, to ſhake off the feathers, and thus diſcovered himſelf to be the thief; after which he did not deny the fact.

Thus

Thus we find among these rude people, with whom instinct seems to hold the place of reason, men who are as intelligent and as artful as the inhabitants of civilized nations, perhaps more so. The art of knowing man is not indeed to be taught, nor is it the effect of education, but the fruit of experience and reflection; those men, therefore, whose attention is least disturbed, either by dissipation, the love of pleasure, or the desire of acquiring knowledge, have, in this respect, the most advantage.

CHAP. VII.

Of the State of Knowledge among the Moors.

ARTS and Sciences flouriſh only in freedom, and find not the leaſt encouragement under governments wholly deſpotic. The Moors, who derive their language and religon from the Arabs, ſeem not in any manner to have participated of their knowledge. United and confounded as thoſe of Morocco have been with the Moors of Spain, the latter of whom cultivated the arts, and gave birth to Averroes, and many other great men, neighbours, dependants, or pupils, of the city of Fez, the academies of which have been vaunted, and which have produced writers. The Moors of this empire have preſerved no traces of the genius of their anceſtors; it is not very apparent that thoſe revolutions,

tions, which have overthrown empires, have altered the characterers of nations. Subjugated by the Turks, the Greeks have loſt their liberty, but they have preſerved their genius; and, were they free, we ſhould ſee the happy days of ancient Greece revive in hiſtorians, philoſophers, warriors, and poets. Men, like plants, only degenerate when they are no longer cultivated. I know not whether it ſhould be attributed to the influence of climate, or to thoſe effects which are the reſult of a vitiated government, but the Moors in general appear to me leſs ſuſceptible of energy and virtue than other men.

The Moors have no conception of the ſpeculative ſciences; in this reſembling the ancient Arabs, thoſe among them who can read, and the number is exceedingly ſmall, ſeldom read any thing but their books of religion. Education conſiſts merely in learning to read and write; and as the revenues of the learned are derived from theſe talents, the Prieſts and Talbes among them are the ſole depoſito-

ries of this much knowledge; the children of the Moors are taught in their ſchools to read and repeat ſome ſixty leſſons, ſelected from the Koran, which, for the ſake of œconomy, are written upon ſmall boards; theſe leſſons being once learned, the ſcholar is ſuppoſed to have obtained ſufficient knowledge to leave ſchool; on this occaſion he rides on horſeback through the city, followed by his comrades, who ſing his praiſes: this to him is a day of triumph; to the ſcholars an incitement to emulation, a feſtival for the maſter, and a day of expence for the parents; for in all countries, wherever there are feſtivals and proceſſions, there alſo are eating and drinking.

At Fez, where ſome ideas of urbanity are preſerved, there is ſome ſmall degree more of inſtruction to be obtained in the ſchools; and the Moors, who are a little wealthy, ſend their children thither to have them inſtructed in the Arabic language, and in the religion and laws of their country. Here ſome of them alſo acquire a little

little taſte for poetry; the Arabs not only celebrated extraordinary events in their poems, but alſo were accuſtomed to ſpeak in verſe in their aſſemblies, and in their ceremonial viſits. It may be added that the Arabic tongue, by its copiouſneſs, energy, and the metaphors which it is capable of, is, perhaps, better adapted to poetry than any other living language.

The Moors are alſo in the habit of rhyming and ſinging the hiſtory of any extraordinary event. Some have ſuppoſed that this cuſtom has been introduced, among poliſhed nations, from political motives, to amuſe the people, and make them laugh, when they might otherwiſe become too ſerious; but it is much more natural to conjecture that, orignally, the end of ſuch rhymes was information, and the preſerving of hiſtorical events in the memory of a multitude of citizens, who had not learnt to read. The Moors, who happen to be ſomewhat more learned than common, amuſe themſelves by propoſing the ſolution of enigmas that are tolerably verſified; he who divines the

 meaning,

meaning, muſt uſe the ſame rhymes as thoſe in which the enigma was compoſed, as if it were an anſwer to a queſtion.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Pharmacy, Phyſic, and Innoculation.

THE Arabs, of all the ſciences they knew, were moſt induſtrious in the ſtudy of phyſic and aſtronomy, which merited this preference, becauſe of their utility. The art of preſerving health, and of regulating agriculture conformable to the order of the ſeaſons, muſt every where firſt have claimed the inquiries of the human mind. The Moors, who formerly inhabited Spain, gave great application to the improvement of theſe ſciences, and they have left manuſcripts behind them, which ſtill remain ſo many precious monuments of their genius; nor, it is to be preſumed, will theſe manuſcripts always continue buried in oblivion, but will ſometime be given to the world.

The modern Moors are infinitely degenerate; they have not the leaſt inclination to the ſtudy of ſcience; they know the properties of ſome ſimples; but, as they do not proceed upon principle, and are ignorant of the cauſes and effects of diſeaſes, they generally make a wrong application of their remedies. Their moſt uſual phyſicians are their Talbes, their Fakirs, and their Saints, in whom they place a ſuperſtitious confidence.

Fevers are the moſt common diſeaſes of theſe hot countries, and are occaſioned by the uſe of crude meats, bad food, and the daily tranſition from heat to humidity; and fevers are placed, by theſe ignorant people, among ſupernatural afflictions. A fiend, according to them, occaſions their hot and cold fits, and the delirium which follows the body's agitation does but confirm them in their error: thus the ſick die, becauſe they do not offer them any other aids than thoſe which depend on miracles, and becauſe they are ignorant of the workings of nature. The hiſtory of the world every where proves men have ſuppoſed the influ-

ence

ence of evil ſpirits; and this influence is always the greateſt in nations the leaſt enlightened. By the force of reflection, only, and their improvements in knowledge, have Europeans at length diſcarded theſe ſupeſtitious ideas of ſorcery, magic, and enchantment, and only in their moſt diſtant provinces do ſuch abſurdities ſtill preſerve ſome power, over the imagination of men.

The ſmall-pox, which is ſaid to have been brought to Europe either from Aſia or Africa, ſome affirming it was not known before the cruſades, is the only diſeaſe, perhaps, for the cure of which the Moors do not invoke their Saints; it comes when it pleaſes, and does little miſchief, becauſe of the temperance of the climate and the abſtinence of the people. They are acquainted with inoculation in the interior parts of the country; but it is practiſed with leſs preparatoty caution here than among the modern Greeks, from whom it has been learned and adopted by Europeans. The Moors, however, do not inoculate, except thoſe who live on the

moun-

mountains, the Brebes, and the Shellu of the ſouth *; and the cuſtom is leſs common among the latter. Hence it may be concluded that the ſmall-pox was known in Africa before the invaſion of the Arabs, and that the mode of communicating it by inſertion muſt have been more ancient in theſe countries than Mahometaniſm; becauſe, however powerful the aſcendant of religion may be, it is very ſlow in rooting out the prejudices and cuſtoms of nations †.

In cities, where Mahometaniſm is obſerved with the moſt ſcruple, they take no precaution whatever to avoid the effects of

* I have before ſaid, the Brebes and the Shellu have the ſame origin, having preſerved the ſame language; but the latter, by their communication with the ſouthern provinces, may have varied their cuſtoms.

† Some have affirmed, the ſmall-pox was unknown to the Greeks or Romans; and it is generally believed it was not introduced into Europe till after the invaſion of the Arabs. Some phyſicians have therefore concluded that, not being a diſeaſe peculiar to our climates, it might be wholly extirpated by interdicting all communication with infected places, and by purifying every ſpecies of clothing which have been uſed by the diſeaſed.

this

this diſeaſe; precaution would be incompatible with the religion of Mahomet, which leaves the care of acting and preventing to fate. Voltaire wants foundation for aſſerting, as he has done in his literary miſcellanies, that the Turks inoculate their children. The incertitude which the effects of inoculation have occaſioned, and the inconveniences which may happen to be the conſequences, have given birth in Europe to a diverſity of opinions, and doubts have ariſen concerning the goodneſs of a practice ſo intereſting to humanity. Inoculation will, however, certainly obtain greater credit in France, ſince the Sovereign has diſpelled the fears of a nation which ſtands diſtinguiſhed for an attachment to its Kings, by having had the royal children inoculated, and thus keeping this contagious poiſon, which has ſo often left whole families in mourning and grief, at a diſtance from the throne.

Although the Moors have little knowledge of pharmacy, and little inclination for the arts, ſtill neceſſity, in ſome inſtances, has rendered them induſtrious; ſome

ſome among them have been bold enough to cut for the ſtone, a diſeaſe known in this country. I ſaw a ſtone lately extracted as large as a pigeon's egg, which had various projecting points. I ſhuddered at the ſight of the inſtruments employed by theſe ſurgeons; they conſiſted in a bad razor, and a kind of hook, rudely made, which reſembled a nail bent.

CHAP. IX.

Of Aſtronomy and Eclipſes.

ASTRONOMY, the firſt knowledge of which we obtained from the Arabs, (or, perhaps, the Egyptians,) and which they themſelves learnt in conſequence of their wandering lives, is entirely, or almoſt, unknown to the Moors; for, though they likewiſe wander from place to place, there are few, if any, among them who have a knowledge of the motion of the heavens, or who are capable from principle to direct their own courſe, by obſerving the courſe of the ſtars. They are therefore neceſſarily wholly unable to calculate eclipſes, which they always interpret to portend evil.

The eclipſe, which happened on the 24th of June, 1778, was central, and total at

at Sallee. I had been careful in foretelling it would happen, that the terror of the people might thus be decreaſed; and, that I might the better obſerve it, I went into the country, whither I was followed by many people. In proportion as the ſun was concealed, my curious, intimidated followers, diſappeared one after the other to return to the city, and we remained only with two ſoldiers of the guard who grew pale, and whoſe dread was increaſed as the ſun loſt its brightneſs. At the moment that the eclipſe was total we heard the lamentable ſhrieks of women and children, who believed the end of the world was come, and only with returning light did the minds of the people recover ſome degree of confidence.

It is not extraordinary that a people, who have no theory of the circular motion of the ſtars, ſhould ſuffer conſternation at a phenomenon which ſeems to overthrow the order of nature. Superſtitious people have every where ſuppoſed eclipſes were ſent to preſage ſome calamity. The

Moors,

Moors, being unable to reaſon on the cauſes of ſuch an appearance, imagine the ſun or the moon are in the power of a dragon that ſwallows them, and they offer up prayers that theſe luminaries may be delivered from an enemy ſo cruel and voracious.

Notwithſtanding the Moors have preſerved the wandering manners of the ancient Arabs, they have occupied themſelves leſs in the ſtudy of Aſtronomy. Endarkened by ignorance and ſuperſtition, they have been much more eager after aſtrology, an imaginary ſcience proper only to ſeduce and deceive the weak. This chimerical doctrine, which made ſo rapid a progreſs at Rome in deſpite of the edicts of the Emperors, muſt make ſtill greater advances among a people wholly ſtupid and ignorant, and ever agitated by the dread of preſent evils, or the hope of a more happy futurity. Magic, the companion of aſtrology, has here alſo found its followers, and is particularly ſtudied by the Talbes in the ſouthern parts, who ſucceſs-

ſucceſsfully uſe it in impoſing upon Mooriſh credulity with ſtrange dreams, and imbiguous forebodings and propheſies.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Language of the Moors.

THE Moors, of the Empire of Morocco, as well as thoſe to the northern limits of Africa, ſpeak Arabic; but this language is corrupted in proportion as we retire farther from Aſia, where it firſt took birth; the intermixture which has happened among the African nations, and the frequent tranſmigrations of the Moors, during a ſucceſſion of ages, have occaſioned them to loſe the purity of the Arabic language; its pronunciation has been vitiated, the uſe of many words loſt, and other foreign words have been introduced without thereby rendering it more copious; the pronunciation of the Africans, however, is ſofter to the ear and leſs guttural than that of the Egyptians.

Of all living languages, the Arabic is, beyond contradiction, the one moſt extenſively ſpoken: from the eaſtern to the weſtern ſhores of the ocean, which includes a ſpace of two thouſand leagues, from eaſt to weſt, the people ſpeak no other tongue; and with this a traveller may even make himſelf underſtood in the countries of the Mogul, and a part of India. The language, when written, is in effect much the ſame at Morocco as at Cairo, except that there are letters and expreſſions among the Moors which differ from thoſe of the Oriental Arabs, who, however, underſtand the Moors in converſation, notwithſtanding their vitiated manner of pronouncing. They mutually read each others writings, with ſome difficulty.

There is a very ſenſible difference among the Moors between the Arabic of the learned, and the courtiers, and that ſpoken by the people in general; and this difference is felt ſtill more in the provinces of the ſouth, or of the eaſt, and among the Moors who live in the deſerts, where the

the Arabic is yet farther disfigured by a mixture of foreign tribes.

The Brebes and the Shellu, who, as I have ſaid, appear to have had the ſame origin, for they have preſerved the ſame dialect, ſpeak a language which the Moors do not underſtand, and which ſeems to have no analogy with that of the latter. I dare not affirm it is the Punic, or the Numidian, but theſe people write their language in Arabic characters. I have thought it neceſſary here to collect ſome words of theſe languages, by which will be ſeen the intimate relation between that of the Brebes and the Shellu, and the very ſlight connexion theſe two languages have with the Arabic.

Comparative liſt of words between the Arabic language, as ſpoken in Morocco, and the languages of the Brebes and Shellu.

	Arabic of Morocco.	*Brebes.*	*Shellu.*
God,	Allah, Rabbi,	Allah, Rabbi,	Allah, Rabbi.
World,	Dounia,	Dounit,	Dounit.
Heaven,	Sema,	Aguena,	Aguelna.
Sun,	Shems,	Thafokt,	Thafokt.
Moon,	Kamar,	Aiour,	Aiour.
Stars,	Nejoun,	Yzheran,	Yzheran.
Earth,	Hard,	Aſhal,	Aqual.
Sea,	Baar,	Baar,	Baar.
Water,	Ma,	Aman,	Aman.
Fire,	Aſia.	Taſit,	Taquat.
To drink,	Shereb,	Iſſou,	Iſſou.
To eat,	Coul,	Itch,	Itch.
To ſleep,	Requot,	Guan,	Guan.
To watch,	Feik,	Ionquir,	Outeignan.
Day,	Naar,	Souhaſs,	Haſſal.
Night,	Leil,	Iad,	Iad.
Man,	Ragel,	Argaz,	Argaz.
Woman,	Mara,	Tamtot,	Tamgart.
Father,	Bou,	Ibbas,	Babbas.
Mother,	Imma,	Imma,	Imma.
Child,	Iſir,	Herba,	Haial.
King,	Soultan,	Aguellid,	Aguellid.
Prince,	Sharif,	Sharif,	Sharif.
Slave,	Abd,	Iſmak,	Iſmak.
Subject,	Raya,	Rait,	Rait.
Living,	Ait,	Idert,	Iſſout.
Dead,	Mout,	Imout,	Imout.

	Arabic of Morocco.	Brebes.	Shellu.
Camel,	Gemel,	Grouns,	Haram.
Horſe,	Haoud,	Hais,	Hais.
Ox,	Tor,	Ayougou,	Azguer.
Sheep,	Qbech,	Izimer,	Izimer.
Lion,	Sba,	Izem,	Izem.
Tiger,	Nemer,	Agouerzem,	Agouerzem.

NUMBERS.

One,	Ouaed,	Ian,	Ian.
Two,	Tnein, *or* Juz,	Sin,	Sin.
Three,	Tleta,	Querad,	Querad.
Four,	Arba,	Arba,	Qouz.
Five,	Kemſa,	Kemſa,	Cemouf.
Six,	Setta,	Setta,	Sediſe.
Seven,	Saba,	Saba,	Sa.
Eight,	Temenia,	Temenia,	Tem.
Nine,	Tſaeud,	Tſaeud,	Tza.
Ten,	Aſhara,	Aſhara,	Meraon.

The Brebes count the days of the week like the Moors, and both of them employ Arabic words. The Shellu enumerate the days after the ſame method, but in their own language. Both the Brebes and the Shellu denote the months of the year in the ſame manner as do the Moors and Arabs, and date from the ſame æra; that is to ſay, from the year of the Hegira.

The Koran, and books of prayer, of the Brebes and Shellu, are in Arabic, as likewise are their acts and title deeds, which are written by their Talbes, or learned men.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Character, Manners, and Customs of the Moors.

NO one can recollect the intolerable servitude in which the Moors are held without commisserating their state; and yet, on a closer inspection, the compassion which an idea of slavery inspires is considerably abated. True it is that the nature of the government, which, though it cannot totally change the character of nations, has a prodigious influence over their minds, is one of the moral causes of the ferocity, ignorance, and cowardice, of these nations. Despotism so debases the soul that it is neither susceptible of fortitude nor elevation; the slaves only know the will of their master, have not the least idea of freedom, and have even lost the re-

membrance of words which expreſs a ſenſe of their own worth and honour, and which ſeem only to appertain to the haughty and free mind. With leſs ſenſibility than other men, they are faithful neither to their relations, their friends, nor their country; their vices are the oppoſite of all good faith; they love not one another, and foreigners they love ſtill leſs.

It appears that the Moors, like all the other nations of hot climates, are more diſpoſed to ſubmit to ſlavery than the inhabitants of the north. The fewneſs of their wants, and the fertility of their lands, render them little addicted to labour; therefore have they little vigour, little of that characteriſtic energy in which noble ideas originate, which gives birth to great crimes, or great virtues. This ſlumber of the faculties keeps them in eternal ſtupidity, and is the very prop of deſpotiſm; for, it ſeems to be a well-founded remark that, governments are more or leſs arbitrary, in proportion as the people are more or leſs informed.

From the diſpoſition of the ſoil, or the quality of the food, the Moors are naturally meager; that licentiouſneſs in which they early indulge, alſo, greatly contributes to enervate and deprive them of muſcular ſtrength, rendering them timid and indolent; they have agility, but not vigour, and can longer ſupport the fatigues of running than of other bodily labour; they are tolerably well formed, have regular features, good teeth, fine eyes, but countenances deprived of expreſſion or mind. Perhaps theſe are rather the effect of phyſical than of moral cauſes. Hence too may we trace the reaſon of that melancholy, that mournful air, which is peculiar to the Moors. Their perſons, their whole appearance, bear the ſtamp of ſlavery and oppreſſion.

Avaricious by nature, theſe people are addicted to accumulate and to conceal wealth. Their belief concerning the creation of the world, however disfigured by variation of circumſtances, is the ſame as that of the Chriſtians; and one of their authors, depicting their avarice, invented an allegory equally judicious and moral.

" Adam,

"Adam, said he, after having eaten the
"forbidden fruit, ashamed of his naked-
"ness, sought to hide himself under the
"shade of the trees that form the bowers
"of Paradise; the gold and silver trees
"refused their shade to the father of the
"human race. God asked them why
"they did so; because, replied the trees,
"Adam has transgressed against your
"commandment. Ye have done well,
"answered the Creator; and, that your
"fidelity may be rewarded, 'tis My decree
"that men shall hereafter become your
"slaves, and that in search of you they
"shall dig into the very bowels of the
"earth."

That passion which universally domineers over man justifies this ingenious allegory; but the avarice of the Moors seems to justify it still farther; with them gold and silver are neither estimated by their wants, nor emblematic of their passions, but rather objects of adoration.

Confidence and friendship are generally unknown among the Moors; they are insensible

ſible to the gentle impreſſions in which the benevolent and the worthy find ſuch pure delight; they are acquainted only with the fervor of the paſſions, ſcattering diſcord in families, and inſurrection in the ſtate; inceſſantly tormented by the impulſes of enmity, they ſeek to injure, and reciprocally to deſpoil each other of their wealth; intereſt is the ſecret ſource of their connections, and their hatred; obliged to hide, that they may preſerve their money, their ſecret often dies with them, fearing leſt, otherwiſe, their end ſhould be haſtened by a wife, a ſon, or a brother, who are themſelves impatient to ſeize upon their riches.

Although the Moors do not enjoy what they poſſeſs, they have not the leſs avidity: in exciting the generoſity of foreigners they are moſt ingenious. In love with money, only, they have no perſonal predilections; he who gives is their friend *; the enmity of people who put friendſhip

* A young Moor one day offered one of my ſervants to receive as many blows with a ſtick as he pleaſed, at the rate of

friendſhip up to auction, and among whom intereſt is the ſole motive of action, is, in fact, but little to be feared.

This avaricious propenſity of the Moors renders them pliant, cunning, and more penetrating than their apparent rudeneſs of manners would beſpeak. Little occupied in improving themſelves, they diſſemblingly ſtudy the characters of others, with whom they have buſineſs, while they, with equal adroitneſs, conceal their own; troubling themſelves little concerning delicacy, or probity, they employ all means to obtain their purpoſe. A perſon in office, in this reſpect, is no more to be truſted than a private individual.

I have heard of one of their governors who regularly went to drink tea with a foreigner, and who artfully ſtole his ſpoons. Another governor was appealed to in order to recover effects ſtolen, the

of twenty four for a Blanquil, or ſomething leſs than two pence. This was his firſt offer; he would, perhaps, have made a better bargain, had my ſervant been ſo diſpoſed.

theft

theft being proved. They were recovered, but the owner's loſs was not the leſs, he being obliged to make a preſent, at leaſt equal in value, to obtain the intervention of the governor.

It is uſual for theſe Alcaids to divide the perquiſites of their ſervants and ſoldiers, and thoſe who content themſelves with only the half are eſteemed honeſt. What I ſay muſt be generally underſtood; I mean not to affirm there are no individuals whoſe actions are juſt or generous; yet let thoſe who deal with them beware, for they will ever diſcover ſomething of the Moor.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Thieves, Punishments, Trades, Games, and Sports.

THE lower orders, and especially the country people, thieve from each other with great addrefs. When the nights are remarkably dark, or ftormy, they creep along the Douhars, and carry off all they can feize, firft undreffing themfelves to nudity and crawling on all fours, fo that in cafe of furprize they are not eafily held.

The Moorifh thieves are not intrepid, but what they want in courage they fupply in cunning: I will cite two examples.

There is an inclofure walled round in the city of Morocco called Alcaifferia, the gates of which are nightly fhut, and where the merchants have their fhops and ware-

warehoufes. A thief perceiving there was a dry-well in this enclofure, between which and another well, without the walls, a communication might eafily be effected, undertook the labour of making this fubterranean communication. Having executed his project, and concealed himfelf in the Alcaifferia, he broke open the fhop of the richeft merchant, from which he ftole money and other effects to the value of three or four hundred pounds. The burglary was next day perceived and reported to the Emperor, who immediately commanded all perfons found in the Alcaifferia, and who could not render a proper account of themfelves, to be brought before him; which order was obeyed. Among the perfons feized were many fufpicious Moors, whom the Monarch threatened all with inftant death, if no difcovery were made of the culprit or his accomplices.

The thief, who had been feized among the reft, advanced, and, cafting himfelf at the Emperor's feet, faid, "I am the "guilty perfon, do with me whatever you

"please; the crime I have commited is "sufficient; I would not load myself "with the guilt of the death of so many "mussulmen."

The Emperor, astonished at the rascal's generosity, praised him for his confession, and commanded him to restore the property to six of his guards, to whose charge he was committed. The thief led them back into the Alcaisseria, told them he had concealed the effects in a well, and that he would descend and bring them up; accordingly down he went, and, crawling through his subterranean passage, took to flight. The guards, at length, weary of calling and waiting, sent one of their comrades into the well, who soon perceived the trick they had been played. They returned and gave an account of this to the Emperor, who, when he heard it, could not refrain laughter.

Another thief, who had been condemned to be hanged by the arm-pits on the highway, was attended by his wife, weeping and lamenting his sufferings. Still desirous of

of exhibiting ſome new proof of his dexterity, he loudly and piteouſly called after a muleteer, who was paſſing with two loaded mules.

Have compaſſion, generous friend, ſaid he, on my wife and children; aſſiſt them to draw out ſome effects which I have hidden in a pit.

The muleteer refuſed; ſaying, the goods were ſtolen, and that if he were caught he ſhould be puniſhed. Nay, but, replied the malefactor, if thou wilt only aſſiſt my wife, thou ſhalt have the half.

On this the conſcientious muleteer conſented, and accompanied the wife to the place, who faſtened a cord round his body that ſhe might aid him as he deſcended into the pit. No ſooner was he at the bottom than ſhe threw him down the cord, and drove off the loaded mules.

Theft in Morocco is not puniſhed with death; the ſentence is variable and arbitrary, depending on circumſtances, which

may aggravate or leſſen the crime. The hand, or foot, of a highway robber, is uſually cut off, as was practiſed among the Arabs before Mahomet. I have ſeen a thief, who, after various thefts committed, had, by the Emperor's order, loſt both his hands, yet ſtill contrived to ſteal, alledging that he had now no other means to gain his bread.

Covetouſneſs naturally induces the love of gaming; but, as the Mahometan religion forbids betting of money, the government very carefully watches over this evil among the Moors, and they are only allowed publicly to play at cheſs, which is in itſelf a game ſufficiently intereſting without the aid of wagering. The Moors of the country are unacquainted with cards, but they play at hazard, making dice out of ſmall bones, and uſing their ſlippers as boxes.

The firſt and immediate wants of man are only felt among the Moors, as in other hot climates: the few enjoyments they taſte are all ſecret, and within their own houſes, carefully

carefully concealed from public view. Hence their talents find ſmall exertion; induſtry follows luxury and abundance, and is little ſeen where liberty is baniſhed and oppreſſion reigns. Heat, perhaps, too, may benumb the body, and with that the faculties of the mind, ſo neceſſary for the invention and perfection of the arts: thoſe of the Moors, indeed, are few, and in a rude ſtate; their workman have fewer tools, aids, and conveniences, than thoſe of Europe.

A goldſmith will come and work in the corner of a court, where he preſently fixes his ſtall; his anvil, hammer, bellows, files, and melting ladle, are all brought with him in a bag; his bellows are made of a goat's ſkin, into which he inſerts a reed, holding it with one hand, while with the other he preſſes the bag, after the manner of bagpipers; and this way lights and blows up his fire.

Other trades work with the like rude ſimplicity; they have not ſufficient employment to incite their emulation, or in-

creaſe their conveniences: yet does the ſight of a nation in this ſtate inſpire veneration; a compariſon is neceſſarily made between the various gradations of art and its progreſs toward perfection; while the diſtance between ſuch its moſt perfect ſtate and theſe feeble attempts creates aſtoniſhment.

The employments and profeſſions of man are ſubordinate to his wants; uſeful trades are therefore only known among the Moors; thoſe that appertain to pleaſure and luxury are there wholly ſuperfluous. The proceedings of government are too ſimple to excite conjecture and form politicians, and the condition of men in Morocco is almoſt uniform.

The governors of provinces and towns, deſirous of Court favour, ſend their ſons to attend on the Sovereign, where they find employment, according to their talents, in his ſervice, carrying his meſſages, and executing his commiſſions. Here are no fixed poſts or offices; the functions are merely temporary, domeſtic, and more or leſs dangerous, according to the character

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of the reigning Monarch, or the uſe and abuſe of his confidence; in governments ſo cruel, courtiers uſually execute what the turbuleut paſſions of the tyrant command, and honour and probity there are ſeldom titles of recommendation.

Individuals, who have acquired ſome wealth, do not willingly ſend their ſons into the ſervice of the Emperor, leſt they ſhould endanger their fortuue, and expoſe themſelves to thoſe conſequences which reſult from the indiſcretion or inexperience of youth; they rather prefer educating them for the offices of Judges, or Talbes, if they have abilities, truſting them with money to trade, or employing them in the ſuperintendance of their gardens and grounds. Theſe are the general and principal occupations of the Moors.

They marry their children early that they may the ſooner addict them to employment, and prevent diſſipation. One profeſſion with them is equal to another, and they indifferently teach them to trade,

make them tailors, weavers, tanners, or ſhoemakers, as it may happen: no perſon is aſhamed of exerciſing a uſeful trade: the Cadi and the governor of a town each marry their daughter to a tradeſman, without ſuppoſing they have thereby degraded themſelves.

On the Friday, which is their day of prayer, or ſabbath, all the inhabitants of a town, clothed in the ſame kind of ſtuff and the ſame colour, are nearly all equal. In abſolute governments, where the deſpot is all, and the ſlave nothing, there is but little diſtinction of rank among men; differences there are, but they are momentary, appear and diſappear at the will of the maſter; the Emperor of Morocco of a ſoldier makes a Baſhaw, and of a Baſhaw a ſoldier *. I myſelf have known a governor depoſed by the Monarch, and condemned to ſweep the ſtreets of the town he had governed. Such caprices of for-

* The Moors call a governor of a province Baſhaw; in Turkey ſuch an one is called Pacha, or Paſhaw. Perhaps the latter have changed the B to a P.

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tune are not uncommon in arbitrary ſtates, where power paſſes rapidly from the maſter to the ſlave, and as rapidly is annihilated, making too ſlight an impreſſion for the poſſeſſor to become inflated with falſe ideas of his own poſitive ſuperiority. Few of the provincial governors but have felt the viciſſitudes of this tempeſtuous deſpotiſm; once ſtripped of their effects, they may again be reſtored, and recover their former dignity; the ſinner is abſolved, having, by rendering up his riches, waſhed away all iniquity.

The Moors have in general but few amuſements; the ſedentary life they lead in cities is little variegated, except by the care they take of their gardens, which are rather kept for profit than pleaſure. Moſt of theſe gardens are planted with the orange, the lemon tree, and the cedar, in rows, and in ſuch great quantities that the appearance is rather that of a foreſt than that of a garden. The Moors ſometimes, though rarely, have muſic in theſe retreats: a ſtate of ſlavery but ill agrees with the love of pleaſure: the peo-

ple of Fez alone, either from a difference in education, or becauſe their organs and ſenſibility are more delicate, make muſic a part of their amuſements. There are not in Morocco, as in Turkey, public coffee houſes *, where people meet to enquire the news of the day; but, inſtead of theſe, the Moors go to the barbers' ſhops, which, in all countries, ſeem to be the rendevouz of newſmongers. Theſe ſhops are ſurrounded by benches, on which the cuſtomer, the inquiſitive, and the idle, ſeat themſelves; and when there are no more places vacant, they crouch on the ground like monkies.

Shewmen and dancers come often into the towns, round whom the people aſſemble and partake of the amuſement for a very trifle. There are alſo a kind of wandering hiſtorians: the vulgar, who cannot read, and who every where are eager to

* Our coffee houſes, which are only an imitation of thoſe in Turkey, are, however, more elegant and amuſing. The police of Conſtantinople, watchful of political tranquillity, will not admit coffee houſes beyond a certain dimenſion, too ſmall to contain many people.

hear extraordinary relations, are the more assiduous, in attending these narrators, as want of more extensive information prevents the tale-teller remaining above a week in a place.

A common diversion in the towns where there are soldiers, as well as in the country, is what the Moors call the game of Gunpowder; a kind of military exercise, that is the more pleasing to these people inasmuch as, by the nature of their government, they all are, or are liable to become, soldiers, therefore all have arms and horses. By explosions of powder too they manifest their festivity on their holidays.

Their game of Gunpowder consists in two bodies of horse, each at a distance from the other, galloping in successive parties of four and four, and firing their pieces, charged with powder. Their chief art is in galloping up to the opposite detachment, suddenly stopping, firing their muskets, facing about, charging, and returning to the attack; all which manœuvres are imitated

tated by their opponents. The Moors take great pleasure in this amusement, which is only an imitation of their military evolutions *.

Muley Yezit, one of the sons of the reigning Emperor, who passed his youth among the soldiers, and who has acquired a passionate love of war, is exceedingly expert at these exercises. I have seen him fire three times on a gallop within a hundred and fifty, or two hundred paces. He starts with one musket in his hand, another laid across his saddle, and the third balanced on his head. The first is fired at parting, and given to a soldier, who runs by his side; he then fires the second, and gives it likewise to take the third; after which he pulls up; and this is all executed in a moment.

* The Arabs appear to have introduced in Spain the exercise called *Juego de Cagnas*, which the Spaniards have adapted to their own customs. The Moors, in return, renounced the exercise which the Turks call *Gerid*, the moment muskets supplied the use of lances.

Such is the chief diversion of the Moors in their festivals, marriages, and every kind of rejoicing: the only honour paid to ambassadors, consuls, and all foreigners, is that of this game of gunpowder; a sport always attended with some danger, because of the Moors want of prudence, and sometimes with very unfortunate accidents.

The Moors, either from temperament, or the moral and physical result of their education, are less sensible of pain than the Europeans; almost naked, ever exposed to the effects of the air, their muscles acquire a numbness, which renders them less delicate, and which at length nearly deprives them of feeling. They seem, like the wild plants of their deserts, to disdain the inclemenices of the seasons. Amid their military evolutions I have often seen man and horse overset, and the former rise without hurt or sprain. Their bodies, not being encumbered by their clothing, yield with facility to their motions, in which, perhaps, they have an advantage over the nations of Europe.

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The Emperor of Morocco often orders the hands of thieves to be cut off; who, immediately ſet at liberty after puniſhment, take the diſſevered hand up from the ground and run away. Such executions, being neither foreknown nor prepared, are performed with the knife of the firſt Moor that happens to be preſent, and who himſelf clumſily executes the ſentence of his maſter.

A gallant, accuſed by a huſband of being caught with his wife, was condemned by the Emperor to the baſtinado, which, for ſome time, made him think no more of his miſtreſs. The huſband, having been abſent, was informed on his return that the lover had been as aſſiduous as ever; again he went with his complaint to the Emperor, who gave the gallant up to him, and commanded him to puniſh him, ſo as to render him incapable of ever diſturbing his peace more. The huſband inſtantly took his knife, and made the gallant even more wretched than Abelard. I knew the unfortunate man who ſuffered this puniſhment; he loſt his beard by degrees,

grees, and inſenſibly, but became ſomewhat more fleſhy.

After performing ſuch barbarous amputations, the only dreſſing they give the wound is to ſmear it over with tar, which, ſay they, is a remedy for all ills: it may well be ſuppoſed that gallantry is not very common among the Moors, and that in this they have not approached European refinement. I may venture to affirm, however, as before ſaid, that theſe people are leſs alive to pain than the Europeans; there is no doubt but that ſeverity of education hardens the body, and ſtrengthens the conſtitution; both of which are only weakened by an exceſs of care and effeminacy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Food, Manner of eating, Marriages of Moors and Negroes.

THE Moors are little dainty in their choice of food, which is ſimple and frugal; they breakfaſt in the morning before they begin buſineſs; but their chief meal is that which they make after ſun ſet. Their moſt common diſh is, as I have already ſaid, the Cooſcooſoo; they alſo have beef, mutton, or fowls ſtewed, and eat roaſt meats; but ſuch delicacies are only for extraordinary occaſions, and among the wealthy.

The Moors know not the uſe of table cloths, forks, or ſpoons: their Cooſcooſoo is not liquid, but, though ſupplied with broth, is left dry; and this they take up

up in their hand in a kind of ball, which they chuck with adroitneſs into their mouths. Their meal ended, they lick their fingers, and wipe them on their clothes, which they waſh when dirty. Thoſe who keep negro ſlaves call them, and rub their hands in their hair; or, if any Jew happens to be preſent, they make a napkin of his garments.

Such as are tolerably at their eaſe annually kill, in May, or June, an ox, or fattened bull; the fleſh of which they preſerve, uſing it occaſionally the whole year; they cut it into ſlips of about two inches thick, and dry it in the ſun for ſome days; after which they fry it in butter and oil, and pot it; the wealthy fill up the pot with butter, that it may be the better preſerved.

The Moors are exceedingly fond of tea, alſo of ſugar; they buy but little, though they are very glad to have it given them; they have learnt the uſe of this beverage from the northern nations, among whom it is not very ancient. It ſhould ſeem they

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are fond of tea, becaufe it is heating; for it does not appear to me any way confonant with their frugal mode of feeding, or their dry temperament. Tea naturally is more falutary in colder climates, where the meat is fat, and where the people habituate themfelves to the ufe of butter, cheefe, milk, and beer: the Moors love coffee lefs than tea; however, in general, they love every thing that is given them. One of their proverbs is—"Given vinegar "is better than bought wine."

It is cuftomary among the Moors to return home at fun fet; they burn lamps in their houfes, or fmall yellow wax candles; the ufe of tallow is unknown to them, and the heat would render it too expenfive. According to Bochart, it fhould feem that we have learnt to burn wax from the people of Africa, and that the French word *Bougie*, fignifying wax candles, is derived from the town of Bugia, near Algiers.

The Moors, like all other Mahometans, reckon their time by lunar months, fo that their lunar year is eleven days fhorter than the

the ſolar year. Hence thirty-two years, two months, and ſome days, of the latter, conſtitute a revolution of thirty-three lunar years. In their aſtronomical calculations, however, and that they may regulate the hour of prayer according to the variation of the ſeaſons, the Moors follow the ſolar year, except that they ſtill adhere to the old ſtile; reckoning eleven days later than the Europeans.

They count the days of the week by firſt, ſecond, third, &c., from Sunday to Saturday: this mode of reckoning they have received from the Hebrews, who ſhould be more ancient than the Arabs, and who, according to the order of the creation of the world, faſt on the ſeventh day; for the word Sabbath, in Hebrew, denotes the number 7 *, a word which we have preſerved with little alteration. The Mahometans feaſt on the Friday, becauſe the Arabs,

* This is not the received etymology of the word Sabbath, which comes from שבת. He reſted. The two words, however, שבת and שבע, have a near affinity. T.

before Mahomet, had consecrated that day to prayer, and had called it the day of the congregation. Mahomet did not think proper to change an eſtabliſhed cuſtom.

The Moors marry young: the females arrive at puberty at the age of thirteen. They are permitted four wives, and as many concubines as they are able to maintain. In their cities, as I have already obſerved, the Moors generally have but one wife, and that for reaſons of œconomy and concord. Plurality of wifes being here a luxury, each proportions the number according to his ſtate and riches.

In ſome parts no portion is given with the wife; on the contrary, the huſband pays: a cuſtom as ancient as the days of Laban, who made Jacob ſerve fourteen years before he would give him his daughter. It is, however, moſt uſual to give a portion with the bride; if ſhe be repudiated, the huſband reſtores it two-fold: ſhould the huſband die, the wife recovers her portion, and the eighth part of his effects.

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The children of the wives all have equal claim to the effects of the father and mother; thoſe of the concubines only can claim half as much. There are no baſtards in theſe countries, except the children of proſtitutes, who are called *Harami*; that is to ſay, the children of ſin. The ſame expreſſion is uſed to ſignify a malignant perſon, or one addicted to play jocular tricks. The tone and the circumſtances under which it is ſpoken denote the difference.

Women not being admitted into the ſociety of men, the young people here do not marry for love: they are all matches of family convenience: from the mother only can the young man, or maiden, learn what is the character, and what the accompliſhments, of the intended helpmate. The relations having firſt agreed, they prepare the bridal feaſt, and marriages are celebrated the moſt pompouſly in the pooreſt countries. A few days before the ceremony the bridegroom is accompanied on horſeback through the town, with drums, hautboys, and friends, who occaſionally

fire their mufkets. On the nuptial day the bridegroom is again taken in proceffion about fun fet, but with a greater train and more ceremony.

On this day he wears a red cap, his fabre in a bandelier, and his face almoft covered by a veil to hide him from evil augury. Around him are feveral young men, one of whom fans him with a handkerchief; he behaves like the Emperor in the midft of his court, and on this occafion even bears the fame title. During the proceffion the mufketeers quicken their difcharges till he re-enters his own houfe.

The bride then leaves the houfe of her father in the fame order. She is feated in a kind of fquare or octagonal cage, about twelve feet in circumference, carried by a mule. This cage rifing to a pyramid is adorned by gauzes and ftuffs of various colours. The youthful bride is efcorted by a number of her relations and neighbours, fome with their torches, others their mufkets, which they frequently difcharge. Arrived at the door of her fpoufe, the rela-

tions introduce her to her huſband, carefully obſerving that, as ſhe enters, ſhe ſhall not touch the threſhold of the door: the father, mother, and relations, retire; ſome few bridemaids only remain, holding jocular diſcourſe, and ſinging licentious verſes *.

It is cuſtomary for theſe bridemaids to receive the proofs of the conſummation of marriage, which they bear, ſinging, to the parents of the bride. Virginity is ſo eſſential a condition to the validity of marriage among theſe people, that, ſhould not the proof exiſt, the huſband has a right to ſend back his wife. It is common enough, however, for them to provide a ſubſtitute for theſe formal proofs, that they may

* Several of the cuſtoms of the Moors are peculiar to themſelves, and are no way connected with Mahometaniſm. Theſe it ſhould ſeem they have adopted from the nations that have reigned over Africa. The Romans, in their marriages, took care that the bride, at entering, ſhould not touch the threſhold of the door. When ſhe was delivered over to the bridegroom, they ſung alſo at Rome licentious ſongs, which they called Feſcinnini, ſo named from Feſcinia, the place where theſe nuptial ſongs were invented.

ſomewhat the ſooner rid themſelves of the noiſe of the ſingers.

The ſame cuſtom is obſerved in Nigritia, where theſe proofs muſt be publicly exposed on the morrow of the nuptial day. The prudence of ſuch laws in theſe hot climates, where morals are more eaſily corrupted, will, no doubt, be perceived. Virtue ſuffers leſs temptation under a more temperate ſun, where luxury only, and the prevalence of diſſipation, have rendered licentiouſneſs too general.

After the marriage, the Moors feaſt their relations and friends in the country *; the two families each kill an ox, which they have taken good care to fatten; and theſe, with a proviſion of vegetables, abundantly ſupply the banquet. Marriages are moſt uſually made after harveſt; the fertility or dearth of which, eſpecially in

* There is a proverb among the Moors, which ſays, The Chriſtians ſpend their eſtates in lawſuits, the Jews in keeping their feſtivals, and the Moors in banqueting at their marriages.

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the country, occasions marriages to be more or less numerous.

The marriages of the country are held with equal festivity, and even greater, when the bride and bridegroom are not of the same Douhar, because that, in this case, there is a double cavalcade, and a much greater train. Nor are the same scruples observed with respect to the proofs that should satisfy the husband, because it often happens that the marriage is consummated before the ceremony.

Independent of the families of soldiers descended from negroes, and still so called, though they have insensibly lost the colour of black, there are numerous other families of negroes, male and female, in the empire of Morocco, which have been transported from Nigritia through the southern provinces, and destined to domestic slavery. The Moors, if they please, may cohabit with their female negroes; but the better class of people seldom indulge this licentiousness, being unwilling that their

children ſhould be confounded with the negroes. The words negro and ſlave are ſynonimous among the Moors, and indicate dependence and a ſtate of humiliation incompatible with the ideas they have of their own freedom. Is it not aſtoniſhing that people, who have not the liberty of thinking, and who are only diſtinguiſhed from thoſe they call ſlaves by their colour, ſhould hold the idea of ſervitude in ſuch abhorrence?

It is cuſtomary among the Moors to marry their male and female negroes, and, after a certain period, to reſtore them to freedom. Thus we ſee huſbandmen are more humane toward their ſlaves than commercial nations, and that negroes are much more happy, among a people whom we call barbarians, than they are in the colonies of Europe. Without ill-treating them, the Moors employ them in guarding their flocks and herds, tilling their lands, and in domeſtic ſervices for a limited time. They depopulate one part of Africa to people another.

Europe,

Europe, on the contrary, leaves Africa deſolate, and bedews her plantations with the tears and blood of men to obtain ſugar and coffee. To ſupply imaginary wants, procure momentary pleaſures, ſhe ſacrifices whole generations, forgetful of every tie, every duty of humanity; and, if aſked the reaſon of ſuch cruelty, replies, Theſe men are black,

Wherefore ſhould prejudices, like theſe, exiſt in the mind; wherefore ſhould different ſhades of colour give riſe to opinions of greater or leſs degrees of innocence; yet ſuch opinions, ſuch prejudices, appear to be very ancient and univerſal. In the eaſt ſiniſter ideas are annexed to the colour of black; the modern Greeks indifferently uſe the word Mavros, to ſignify a black, or an unhappy, man. An Eaſt Indian, who has committed a fault, ſays, with ſhame, he is black. The Black ſea has acquired its name only becauſe of the frequent ſhipwrecks on its coaſts. The Turks attribute ill omens to the colour of black, and view it with repugnance. The Europeans mourn and array the mi-

niſters

niſters of religion and juſtice, who are equally ſuppoſed to have renounced plea- ſure, in black.

The negroes, who are conſidered as ſlaves among the Moors, even after they are reſtored to liberty, live by labour. They have no wealth to tempt the avidity of government; they intermarry with each other, are moſt ſingularly chearful and gay, and delight to laugh and talk. Their feſtivals ſeem to bear conſiderable affinity to the ſeaſons, and are paſſed by di- verting themſelves in ſinging and dancing, which they perform with aſtoniſhing regu- larity. They have preſerved their own particular cuſtoms and ſports in Morocco; for, in Nigritia, the youth of the village, moſt admired, is he who can invent the moſt gay and groteſque dance.

The negroes throughout this empire conform to the religion of Mahomet, with- out ſcarcely knowing what it means; but to this they daily add the adoration of the ſun, which is the firſt object of their wor- ſhip. The marriages of negroes in Mo-

rocco greatly reſemble thoſe of the Moors; all the proceſſions that relate to them are accompanied by muſicians, and preceded by flags made of gauze handkerchiefs, ſuſpended at the ends of reeds.

They marry after harveſt, and when they are certain of ſubſiſtence. Such, in the firſt ages of the world, muſt have been the baſis on which all ſociety was formed. The firſt ceremony before a negro marriage is to carry corn to the mill, ſufficient to ſupply bread for a whole year; and this they bear ſinging, accompanied by drums and caſtanets. They return two days after with the like ceremonies to receive the flour.

Their houſehold furniture conſiſts in a mat, two ſheep-ſkins, unſheared, to ſit upon, a lamp, a jar of oil, ſome earthen pots, and plates; the whole ſcarcely worth two guineas, but borne in proceſſion like their corn. The muſic at theſe feſtivals is the heavieſt expence. The marriages of the negroes are not attended by ſo many people, but there is more real mirth; neither

ther do the women veil themſelves like the Moors. Some of them paint their cheeks, which, though it does not add to their beauty, increaſes the vivacity of their eyes.

CHAP

CHAP. XIV.

Manner of preſerving Corn — Hiding of Money — Reſpect for Storks — Burial of the Dead — Feaſt of Saint John.

DESIROUS of preſerving their corn, the Moors, on the approach of harveſt, watch their fields and drive away the birds. From the ſame motive they do not kill birds of prey, which, by the deſtruction of other birds, guard and preſerve their harveſts. European luxury and plenty has occaſioned the very oppoſite mode to be adopted: a price is put on the deſtruction of birds of prey to preſerve partridges that ravage the fields. We dread the want of game, but not of corn.

The harveſt over, it is the cuſtom of the Moors to encloſe their corn in matamores; that

that is to ſay, in pits, where the corn is long preſerved. We learn from Bochart*, that this is a very ancient cuſtom, and muſt have been general in hot countries inhabited by wandering tribes. To preſerve the corn dry, the ſides of the pit are lined with ſtraw, in proportion as it is filled, and, when full, covered with the ſame. On this a ſtone is laid, over which a mount of earth is raiſed, in a pyramidal form, to prevent the ſoaking of the water when the rain deſcends.

Fathers, among the moſt wealthy, uſually fill a matamore at the birth of a child, and empty it on the day of marriage. I have ſeen corn ſo preſerved five-and-twenty years; its whiteneſs was loſt, its powers of production, perhaps, injured, and, had it been ſown, might have produced only ſtraw.

When convenience, or the imperial command, oblige the Moors to change

* *Geographia Sacra.*

their

their place of abode, ſhould they not be able to take their grain with them, they leave ſtones heaped over the matamores as marks, which they afterwards with difficulty find. In this caſe they uſually obſerve the ground at ſun riſing, and where they perceive a denſer vapour they find a matamore: this increaſe of the ſun's exhalation is the conſequence of the fermenting of the wheat.

Not only do the Moors depoſit their ſuperflux of corn in the ground to preſerve it, but alſo their riches, which ſuſpicion and oppreſſion induce them to bury, having neither furniture nor other means of hiding them from the knowledge of their relations. There is, perhaps, more money buried throughout the empire of Morocco than there is in circulation; much of this is loſt, becauſe, as I have elſewhere ſaid, the poſſeſſors, while living, ſhould it be diſcovered, dread the avidity of their ſucceſſors.

Among the frequent revolutions on the ſucceſſion of the ſeveral Sharifs, whoſe family

family at preſent reigns, various ſudden emigrations have taken place; during which the Moors had neither time nor means of carrying off their money, and could only gather ſtones, or make other uncertain remarks on the places where it was concealed, hoping they might recover it on their return. Theſe hopes muſt have been often deſtroyed by diſtance, or death. Thoſe among them who could write, who were by no means the majority, deſcribed with all the preciſion they were able the place of depoſit, to aid their deſcendants in its recovery.

Such ſudden removals in the encampments of theſe tribes gave riſe to a ſpecies of impoſtors, who were ſuppoſed to be ſorcerers, but who, in reality, were knaves, that, having gained information, profited there, as elſe where, by the ignorance of others. It may be preſumed the whole art of theſe people conſiſted in knowing how to read, and thus diſcovering the hiding places from the writings with which they were entruſted. Thus has an art, ſo univerſal in other countries, been confounded

founded with magic by the Moors. The Talbes of the tribes who inhabit the south, where the imagination seems most addicted to the miraculous, study this art with assiduity.

An inferior species of superstition among the Moors is the repugnance they have to the killing of Storks; which act, they say, is sinful. It may be, that the regularity with which these birds utter their cries, and the motion they make with their bodies, which, in some sort, resembles that of the Mahometans when at prayer, have annexed ideas of piety to their preservation. It is also natural to suppose the lives of Storks are spared from a much more rational motive, since they destroy noxious insects, locusts, and serpents. In the first state of society, simple and innocent man imagined every thing which was forbidden, every thing injurious to order, decency, or the good of the whole, was sinful. The present Moors blindly obey the commands of their Prince, which they regard as the laws of religion.

It is ſuppoſed that Storks frequent Barbary, in greater numbers, becauſe they are not killed there: it is alſo probable they delight in this country, on account of the many ruins, old buildings, and uninhabited lands, where they can with more facility find food and aſylum. The Storks in Morocco regularly diſappear at the cloſe of ſummer, and return toward the end of January. That the want of ſubſiſtence is the motive of this regular and annual change there can be little doubt. The countries bordering on the Niger, inundated in June, July, and Auguſt, by the overflowing of that river, which, from ſimilar cauſes, produces ſimilar effects to thoſe of the Nile*, muſt, in winter, ſwarm with inſects, on which theſe birds feed. They afterward return to the north of Africa, where the regular rains of November, December, and the remainder of the winter, fill the marſhes, and people them anew with inſects.

* The overflowing of theſe two rivers, according to La Martiniere, is occaſioned by the abundant rains which fall between the line and the tropic, from the month of June to September.

The

The Moors, like all other Mahometans, hold it a thing irreverent, and contrary to the ſpirit of religion, to bury their dead in moſques, and to prophane the temple of the Moſt High by the putrefaction of dead bodies. In the infancy of the Church the Chriſtians had the like piety, and gave example of the reſpect in which they held temples, dedicated to religious worſhip. But ill-guided devotion, mingled with ſuperſtitious vanities, and that contagious ſpirit of ſelf intereſt which pervades all human affairs, without reſpecting the altar of God, have, together, inſenſibly perverted men's ideas. The burial grounds of the Mahometans are moſt of them without the city; the Emperors have their ſepulchres diſtinct and diſtant from the moſque, in ſanctuaries, built by themſelves, or in places which they have indicated; their tombs are exceedingly ſimple: the Moors do not imitate the oſtentation of Europeans, were ſuperb monuments are raiſed rather to gratify living pride than merit dead.

All Mahometans inter the dead at the

hour ſet apart for prayer; the defunct is not kept in the houſe, except he expires after ſun ſet; but the body is tranſported to the moſque, whither it is carried by thoſe who are going to prayer; each, from a ſpirit of devotion, is deſirous to carry in his turn.

The Moors ſing at their burial ſervice; which uſage, perhaps, they have imitated after the Chriſtians of Spain, for the oriental Mahometans do not ſing. They have no particular colour appropriated to mourning; their grief for the loſs of relations is a ſenſation of the heart they do not attempt to expreſs by outward ſymbols. Women regularly go on the Friday to weep over, and pray at, the ſepulchres of the dead, whoſe memory they hold dear.

The Moors have a cuſtom of making bonfires at the feaſt of Saint John, and are leſs able even than the Chriſtians to give any reaſon for this practice. I happened to be at Fez during this feſtival, which the Moors, according to the old ſtile, obſerve much in the ſame manner as do the Europeans.

peans. I aſked a Moor, who was tolerably well informed, why they made bonfires: and he anſwered me, it was *el Anſarà*, which ſignifies in Arabic, pronouncing the laſt *a* ſhort, the companion, or defender, and ſhould denote Saint John, the precurſor and companion of Chriſt. He had no farther reaſon to give for the fires thus publicly made.

The origin of theſe fires is of very ancient and remote date. It ſeems probable that, in old times, they were ſignals, announcing to the people the ſun's elevation, the progreſs of ſummer, the maturity of their grain, or the ſeaſon in which they might bathe without injury to their health. The cuſtom, in ſome of our ſouthern provinces, of throwing water over the paſſengers, on this bonfire day, is ſome ſupport to the latter conjecture. At Sallee, where the harveſt is gathered before the feaſt of Saint John, which among the Moors correſponds with the fifth of July, I have ſeen young people collect reeds and ſtraw into a heap, ſet them on float down the river, light them in a blaze as they ſwam, and ſport

round, which, apparently to me, include the two motives that I imagine gave birth to the practice; that is, to announce the summer solstice, and the proper season of bathing *. The feast of Saint John, which has been since fixed at the same season by the church, has insensibly effaced these original ideas among the Christians; and ideas of devotion, neither well founded nor consistent, have been annexed to a political regulation,

* M. Court de Gebelin says, these fires were lighted the moment the year began, and that the first of all years, that is to say, the most ancient of which men have any knowledge, began with the month of June: hence the name of this month, Junior. After a succession of years, the year no longer began with the summer solstice; the lighting of fires, however, still continued from habit.

Monde primitif, Alleg. Orien. prem. tab.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Military Forces of Morocco.

NO ſooner had ambition, religion, and thoſe claſhing intereſts which diſturb and deſolate the earth, ſet nation in arms againſt nation, than each muſt be ſupplied with ſoldiers for its defence: the cuſtom, indeed, which Kings now have of keeping ſtanding armies, is not very ancient.

The numerous levies made by the Kings of Morocco were, at firſt, either to protect their religion or maintain their ſovereignty over Spain; their ſoldiers were either actuated by the ſpirit of Mahometaniſm or the hope of pillage. Theſe ſovereigns had no troops properly their own, nor, perhaps, had they revenues ſufficient for their maintenance. To this want of a concerted plan between King and People we may ap-

parently attribute thofe revolutions which formerly diftracted the empire, multiplied its fovereigns, and expofed the ever-varying people to fuch continued changes in their mafters.

After the twelfth century the States conquered by Jacob Almonfor were again divided; the people more accuftomed to war, chofe their own chiefs, and, in the tumult of ftruggling independence, each province, and almoft each city, had its king. The power of fuch trifling ftates, ever in fedition, was very unable to refift the efforts of an ambitious conqueror.

At the beginning of the feventeenth century new revolutions took place, nor did the Empire of Morocco acquire its prefent form and degree of confiftency till under the government of Muley Arfhid and Muley Ifhmael. Thefe Princes chofe for their affociates, and the participators of their favours, fome determined mountaineers, and negroes brought from the South. With thefe they prefently fubjugated a multitude of thofe petty kings, without power,

without

without ſoldiers, conſequently without defence, that then exiſted throughout Barbary.

After Muley Iſhmael had well eſtabliſhed his authority, he obliged the provinces to ſupply him with troops, by whoſe aid he might make this authority reſpected. But theſe paſtoral ſoldiers, who became ſoldiers only from fear, and whom intereſt or deſpair might occaſion to revolt, inſpired but little confidence in a prince ſo ambitious.

Deſirous of acquiring a military eſtabliſhment, whoſe intereſt it ſhould be to increaſe his own perſonal glory, he tranſported negroe families from the South, of whom his legions might be formed, and by whom increaſed. Inſtructed in the military art during a tolerably long reign, theſe negroes ſucceſsfully aided in eſtabliſhing and confirming deſpotiſm. At the death of Muley Iſhmael, near a hundred thouſand negroes had ſerved him as ſoldiers.

The feebleneſs of his ſucceſſors augmented the power and arrogance of this military body,

body, that now was maſter of the throne and empire; it was become equally odious to the Sovereign and the ſubject. After finding himſelf the victim of their inconſtancy and avarice, Muley Abdallah felt the neceſſity of humbling theſe turbulent troops. He ſowed diſſention between the negroes and the principal tribes of the Moors, ſo that the former were at length ſacrificed to the hatred and vengeance of the provinces, and to the political repoſe and barbarity of the deſpot.

As a balance to the power of thoſe negroes who ſurvived theſe diviſions, this Prince formed bodies of troops from the mountaineers, and other diſtant caſts, who became ſo many hoſtages for the fidelity of their tribes. Independent of the legions in actual ſervice, each province, when needful, was obliged to furniſh and maintain its contingent of armed troops.

By this prudent plan the deſpot always had a ſufficient body of forces, at his command, to quell any provincial inſurrections. In theſe national levies he alſo found a neceſſary

ceſſary ſupport againſt the enterprizes of the negroes, and his troops divided by prejudices concerning their colour, their origin, religion, for ſuch prejudices exiſt the moſt in the moſt ignorant, were too much diſunited among themſelves to inſpire him with fear.

Such then was, and ſuch ſtill is, the military eſtabliſhment of the Empire of Morocco, and which was leſs the effect of a political and well-combined plan, than the reſult of a ſucceſſion of accidents, that, in all kingdoms, after having deſtroyed, again inſenſibly reſtores order; like, as in nature, we ſee a calm ſucceed to the ſhock of elements, threatening total deſolation.

Change of times and change of circumſtances have given birth to new reforms. About ten years ago fifty thouſand negroes were kept in pay in Morocco. The reigning Emperor perceiving that the maintenance of theſe troops was become burdenſome, at a time when the public diſtreſs required, or enforced, public œconomy, deter-

determined, in order to prevent every disagreeable consequence, to disarm and disband the negroes, and also to confine them in the opposite extremities of his empire. Of the fifty thousand he preserved only some five or six as his body guard, selecting those in whose commanders he had the greatest confidence. He keeps near his person a still greater number of trusty troops; but I doubt whether the total amount to more than between fifteen and eighteen thousand men in constant pay; a part of whom are always sent into the distant provinces, to protect the tax-gatherers.

Yet must not the military power of the Empire of Morocco be estimated at twenty thousand men. Although their employment is that of agriculture, most of the Moors are soldiers, or, in case of need, can soon so become; not any of them but keep a horse, a sabre, and a musket, and who are not ready to march at the first command of the Monarch.

When the Emperor is in want of troops, each province, on his requisition, supplies and maintains a number of men proportionate to its population and its wealth; but these extraordinary levies are only kept in service when the tillage of their lands does not require their presence; that is to say, between seed time and harvest, and after harvest till it is again necessary to prepare their lands. The Emperor bestows no other gratifications on these provincial troops than such as he himself pleases, and which are never of any great value.

It must be remembered that this empire, having nothing to fear from its neighbours, stands less in need of the support of numerous armies. A detachment of four or six thousand men, who march and accompany the despot, is sufficient to maintain order throughout his provinces, and to inspire the States to the west of his Empire with dread, where nature has done nothing in defence of the people, and where agriculture and the spirit of trade have

have encouraged the love of public tranquillity.

When those tribes that inhabit the neighbourhood of the mountains give tokens of insurrection, some ten or twelve thousand additional troops, of the provincial levies, are sufficient to reduce them to obedience. These expeditions generally consist in ravaging the country, and in the destruction of those wretches who have neither money to purchase remission nor arms for self-defence. Such incursions are the more frequent in the Empire of Morocco because that fear, there, continually keeps the minds of men in fermentation; it is a smothered fire, the embers of which occasionally glow, but are unable to produce a flame. The people are too much debased; there is too little concord among the different tribes, which are always too much divided among themselves to produce any great effects.

As the military forces of states are in proportion to their population, and their progress in the arts, I presume, these

these circumstances taken into the estimate, there are more soldiers in the Empire of Morocco than under the Princes of Europe, if we except those nations where the people are entirely educated in the use of arms, and where each man is a soldier. The population of this empire has but little relation to its extent, since it appears that two thirds of it lie uncultivated and uninhabited. I doubt whether this population exceeds six millions, and do not suppose it can be less than five.

Notwithstanding that these people are naturally addicted to the shepherd's and the farmer's life, yet, having the continual revolutions which have existed among their ancestors before their eyes, military ideas are kept up in their imaginations, and even give birth to the chief of their amusements. I suppose the Emperor of Morocco might, with great ease, raise from two to three hundred thousand men, did he find so great a force necessary. True it is that armies thus numerous would soon experience want of subsistence in a country laid waste by its own

poverty, that they muſt preſently be diſperſed, and for this ſole reaſon annihilated.

It would likewiſe ſcarcely be poſſible to put ſo large a body in motion, and to render it actually ſerviceable in an open country, where there are no places of arms or fortreſſes to form magazines, protect a retreat, or rally a defeated army.

It may alſo reaſonably be ſuppoſed that this empire will never have need to make ſuch efforts, ſo long as it ſhall have nothing to fear from its neighbours. This time, however, will come, ſhould the regency of Algiers change its principles and conſtitution, and, buſied with projects of ambition, endeavour to extend its empire. This would apparently be difficult to execute, though ſomewhat like this is to be feared, from the diſlike theſe two States have to each other *. If the government

* The regency of Algiers is a military power, compoſed of Turks, whom the Moors regard as uſurpers; for which reaſon there is a continual jealouſy between this regency and the court of Morocco.

of

of Algiers continues prudent, it will ſcarcely attempt to extend its domains; it is quite ſufficient that it has at preſent a multitude of Mooriſh tribes under its yoke, which they ſupport with repugnance. This regency would likewiſe no longer preſerve its ariſtocracy and its ſtrength, were it to extend itſelf by conqueſt.

Were the Moors capable of union, and ſuſceptible of courage, it would, perhaps, be much more eaſy for the Sharifs of Morocco to exterminate the power of Algiers, than for the Algerines to make conqueſts in Morocco. According to preſent appearances, no change, however, can with probability be preſaged; but, ſhould the Turks receive any ſevere checks in Europe, it may well be feared that the regencies of Barbary would anew become the aſylum of the Ottoman ſoldiery and marine, which might expoſe the ſhores of the Mediterranean to future revolution.

The troops kept in pay by the Emperor of Morocco, that may be looked upon

as his body guard, and that at present do not exceed eighteen thousand men, have various divisions; they are distinguished by their tribes, the Negroes, the Ludaya, the Gayoran, and others; each have their colours, and their signal of rallying. These divisions are composed of a number of companies, each consisting of a hundred men; every company has its chief, or captain, whom they call the chief of a hundred; under him are two officers, who command fifty each; and ten other more inferior officers, who have the command of ten men each. All that these troops know of military discipline is submission to their superiors; they are not subject to any precision in their exercise or manœuvres.

The embodied troops that form the Emperor's guard are, in Morocco, known by the title of Al Boccari, or Sidi Boccari, Muley Ishmael having put himself under the auspices of this commentator of the Koran, and consecrated his first legions in the oath he administered to them.

His book, depofited under a tent in the centre of the army, is the fignal for rallying the troops, and a fort of pledge for their fidelity. Thus, likewife, had the Carthaginians a facred tabernacle, befide the tent of the general, to which the whole army directed its devotion.

The Emperor of Morocco has but few infantry in his fervice; the chief force of his armies confifts in his cavalry; but that cavalry, always acting in diforder, would be very little able to refift the fhock of the European horfe. There is no kind of uniformity either among the men or horfes; the reigning Emperor feemed inclined to introduce fome diftinction of regimental drefs, but this novelty never became prevalent.

The Moors are good horfemen; they can endure hunger, thirft, fatigue, and every inconvenience; they have the neceffary qualities to form good foldiers, but they are not fo formed.

Armies among the Moors are ufually drawn up in a crefcent, the ftrength of which is in the centre: here alfo the artillery is placed; their whole art of attack confifts in acting with the detachments at the two extremities, fo as to furround the enemy, put him between two fires, and at the fame time expofe him to be cannonaded by the artillery.

When an army is in motion little care is taken of a fupply of provifions; it ufually encamps near fprings, or a river, and the provinces in the neighbourhood of the camp are commanded to fix their markets in its environs, that each, paying for what he wants, may obtain food and neceffaries; fhould there be a fcarcity in fuch provinces, the enterprize muft be abandoned; in dry feafons the Emperor has often been obliged to defift from an expedition for want of pafturage, or of water, for the horfe.

All the arms neceffary for war are not fabricated in the Empire of Morocco: the reigning Emperor, defirous of eftablifhing founderies

founderies for artillery, about fifteen years ago, ſent for the neceſſary workmen to Conſtantinople; but this project was abandoned, equally on account of the expence, and becauſe he feared leſt his ſubjects might turn this art to the deſtruction of his own power. He contented himſelf with forming a manufactory for bombs at Tetuan; that, in the fabrication of theſe, he might melt down a number of waſte cannon, of which he could make no other uſe.

During the laſt fifteen or twenty years this Emperor has procured more than ſixty mortars of various dimenſions, and above two hundred pieces of artillery, which he has received as preſents from foreign courts, or has purchaſed by his agents. He has likewiſe exerciſed ſome pupils in the art of gunnery, and the firing of bombs; but pupils never become maſters when they do nothing but what they are bidden, and where the mind is not ſuſceptible of thoſe principles by which art is brought to perfection.

The muſkets neceſſary for defence are forged in the Empire of Morocco, and for this purpoſe they uſe the iron of Biſcay, which is more eaſily worked and poliſhed than that of the north. Theſe muſkets are made too heavy, are about ſix feet and a half long, and are too much loaded with iron; they fatigue the ſoldier, and the muzzles drop when they fire; their locks are ſafe and ſolid, but ſnap hard, and are conſequently ſlow.

The ſabres uſed by the Moors are alſo manufactured in Morocco, and from the iron of Biſcay. There, as every where elſe, certain waters are found, which temper ſteel with greater perfection.

Gunpowder is likewiſe made in this empire, but the ſulpher which is uſed is brought from Europe. Not having acquired ſufficient art in purifying their powder, it is ſo glutinous that, on the fourth or fifth diſcharge, the priming will not take fire, or, at leaſt, retards the exploſion; the bad quality of the powder likewiſe

likewiſe renders it ſuſceptible of humidity, and prevents its being long preſerved.

CHAP. XVI.

Maritime Strength of the Empire of Morocco.

THE world is no better informed concerning the naval than the military power of Morocco, before and after the tenth century. We only know that, in the time of Jacob Almonſor, and afterward, under ſome of his ſucceſſors, various conſiderable armaments were formed to tranſport the troops of Morocco into Spain, and profit by the diviſions which then diſtracted that country; but we are unacquainted with theſe armaments in the detail. It ſhould ſeem that the foreſts, which then remained on the northern part of the coaſt, were exceedingly uſeful for their ſhipbuilding; but, as the marine, after the maritime efforts which had exhauſted Rome and Carthage, was only at this time reviving, we cannot

cannot have any very high ideas of its ſtrength in thoſe countries.

Probably, after the expulſion of the Moors from Spain, and thoſe revolutions which internally diſtracted the empire of Morocco, all naval exertions, were long renounced. The coaſts of Barbary, waſhed by the Mediterranean and the Weſtern Ocean, only gave harbour to ſome pirates; and the progreſs of theſe, it is preſumed, could not be very great, the Portugueſe having conquered Ceuta, Arzilla and Tangiers. Navigation began to be encouraged under the reign of Muley Iſhmael, when theſe towns had been abandoned, and commerce became more generally promoted throughout Europe.

The river of Sallee, which brought veſſels to the towns of Sallee and Rabat, was at that time more navigable than it is at preſent, and admitted veſſels of great burden, and heavily built. Sallee was a kind of republic, feudatory to Muley Iſhmael, the people of which addicted themſelves to trade and piracy. The Sallee rovers became

came formidable to the merchants of Europe, and their very name ſtill preſerves ſome impreſſion of the fears they at that time inſpired, but which now daily weaken.

Muley Iſhmael received ten per cent. on each prize from the Corſairs of this regency, and alſo ten ſlaves from every hundred. The gallies that cruiſed in the ſtraits wholly appertained to the Emperor. An old Moor, whom I knew, and who was a ſhip-boy on board theſe gallies, has aſſured me, they carried no cannon, that they were ballaſted with flints gathered on the ſea ſide, or the banks of the river, which was their whole ammunition; that, rowing along-ſide merchant veſſels, which at that time were themſelves ill armed, they ſhowered ſuch a quantity of theſe ſtones, on board, that the ſailors were obliged to run, and they took poſſeſſion of the ſhip.

Hiſtory informs us that the cuſtom of flinging ſtones is moſt ancient among the Moors, as it alſo was among the inhabi-

tants

tants of the Balearic iſlands, now called Majorca and Minorca; for, in the wars between the Romans and the Carthaginians, the Moors were oppoſed to theſe people, whom they fought at their own weapons.

Muley Iſhmael maintained ſlaves from oſtentation, employed them in the building of his palaces, and ſacrificed them to his caprice and ferocity. Under the reign of Muley Abdallah, Sallee and Rabat preſerved their municipal government; and piracy, ſubject to ſimilar taxation, had ſimilar ſucceſs, except that this Prince reſerved the ſlaves to himſelf, paying the pirate for them at the rate of fifty piaſters per head. Equally cruel with his father, Muley Abdallah put many of them to death, in his ſanguinary madneſs, but he allowed them to be ranſomed.

The reigning Emperor, who has not inherited the ferocity of his forefathers, having deprived the regency of Sallee of its riches, privileges, and independence, commanded the Corſairs to act for his

profit;

profit; and, considering the redemption of slaves as a source of revenue, he has treated them with more humanity.

This change, in the manner of government, and in the administration of the town of Sallee, has been favourable to the commercial part of Europe. The courage of the Sallee rovers, no longer excited by interest, which is the most powerful of motives for the undertaking of dangerous enterprizes, declines; deprived of the profits of their piracies, they are no longer eager in search of perils.

In the beginning of his reign the Emperor had vessels built at Sallee, which would carry six-and-twenty, and even six-and-thirty guns; for the earthquake, so destructive to Lisbon, which happened on the first of November, 1755, increased the depth of water at the mouth of the river to near thirty feet at flood time. The sands, however, annually accumulate, and the burden of vessels is obliged to be proportioned to the depth of water at the bar.

These large vessels inspired considerable fear, but did little damage; heavily and disproportionately built, they were bad sailers, and perished, in time, through the inexperience of their captains. Piracy at this time had but little success; and the less because that France and Spain were then at war with England, and merchant ships either durst not keep the seas or were obliged to be strong enough to sustain an action. The peace of 1763 once more occasioned the people of Sallee to make new efforts; they took some Provençal ships in the Mediterranean, the crews of which, imagining they were chaced by Algerine corsairs, durst not make any defence.

They had the like success in the Western Ocean, and in two years took more than fifteen vessels, ten of which were French.

One Captain Motard is, perhaps, the only man among them who made any resistance. The memory of the action he sustained merits to be preserved to his honour;

nour; his whole ſtrength conſiſted but of four cannon, and twenty-four men, ſome of whom were paſſengers; yet did he valorouſly defend himſelf within piſtol ſhot againſt Reys Salah, a reputed deſperado, and who commanded a xebeck of twenty-four guns and a hundred-and-thirty men. Motard ſtruck juſt as his veſſel was ſinking, having loſt a part of his men, and killed or diſabled more than forty of the crew of the corſair.

When Sidy Mahomet had made peace with the principal nations of Europe, he collected all his veſſels into a ſquadron, that he might maintain his marine force, and add to its reſpectability.

Five of theſe his frigates, or xebecks, as they were returning from Tunis in September, 1773, were encountered off Cape Spartel by the Chevalier Acton *, at that time

* The ſame gentleman who, ſometime afterward, entered into the ſervice of the court of Naples, to whom the King has ſince confided the adminiſtration of the marine, and alſo the war department——The Chevalier Acton is an Engliſhman, and at preſent well known in Europe.

time the commander of a ſmall Tuſcan frigate. After a few broadſides he diſordered and diſperſed four of them. Reys Laſchmi Miſteri, of Rabat, who led the van, had the courage ſingly to engage the Chevalier, as well to relieve his aſſociates as to give them time to rally, and return to the charge; but the valorous men of Sallee were not of the ſame opinion; they made for the Port of Laracha, and two of the four, in their great haſte, were ſtranded. Reys Laſchmi Miſteri was forced, after a ſhort engagement, to ſtrike, and was brought into Leghorn.

On this day the Chevalier Acton, with a ſmall Tuſcan frigate, deſtroyed a part of the maritime force of Morocco: the fleets of the great powers of Europe never had a ſimilar victory. The whole naval force of Sidy Mahomet * conſiſts in little more

* All the Emperors have the title of Muley, which, in Arabic, ſignifies Lord and Maſter: the reigning Emperor, reſpecting the name of the Prophet, after whom he is called, has aſſumed the epithet Sidy, which has the ſame ſignification as Muley, but is more reſpectful.

than

than ſix or eight frigates of two hundred tons burthen, with port holes for from fourteen to eighteen ſix-pounders, and, perhaps, a dozen gallies. He has a number of ſailors regiſtered, who receive a ſmall pay, but which is not fixed; ſo that his ſubjects are little inclined to a ſeafaring life, and become ſailors with reluctance.

The choice of commanders is leſs influenced by the opinion entertained of their capacity than that of their known wealth; the Emperor ſeldom will truſt his ſhips to any but rich people, who are able to anſwer for accidents: this neceſſarily occaſions the commanders to ſail late, and return ſoon, taking care to avoid all perils which may endanger their fortune and peace of mind.

Although the naval ſtrength of the Emperor of Morocco is not very conſiderable, the ſituation of his ſtates will always be an advantage: he poſſeſſes Tangiers and Tetuan at the different mouths of the ſtrait, through which veſſels from all parts of the globe, ſailing for the Mediteranean, muſt

must pass; and his row gallies, in so narrow a passage, are always capable of calculating their distances, and ascertaining a safe retreat.

CHAP. XVII.

Revenues of the Emperor of Morocco.

ABSOLUTE maſter of every thing contained within his dominions, it may ſeem uſeleſs, or ſuperfluous, to form any eſtimate of the revenues of the Emperor of Morocco, ſince they depend ſo entirely on his will. To render his yoke more light, however, and to encourage his ſlaves in their labours, he nouriſhes among them ideas of property: the Deſpot contents himſelf with thoſe impoſitions preſcribed by the Koran, ſave and except ſuch innovations as have been introduced by time and cuſtom, and which are held in reſpect by a people ſo ſubmiſſive.

The taxes which the Koran allows, and which the Arab Monarchs have ever exacted

acted from their husbandmen and shepherd subjects, consist in tenths, on all the productions of their lands and herds. This impost, which is the most ancient, the most natural, and the least destructive of all tributes paid by the cultivator, was sufficient in those ages, when the Sovereign kept no standing armies, and when the defence of property, the interest of religion, or rather the spirit of fanaticism, and the thirst of plunder, made soldiers flock to his standards.

Taxation remained the same when the various States of Morocco erected themselves into monarchies; the wants of these petty sovereigns were not sufficiently exigent, nor had they sufficient strength, to enforce the exaction of heavier contributions. In these distant times the revenues of the kings of Morocco could not have been very considerable; the burden lay light upon the people, and they were still better able to bear it, because they had few wants, and were in those days more wealthy.

It alſo appears probable that interior commerce, which originates in barter and the exchange of the reſpective products, and which moſt produces intercourſe between nations, was in theſe times more active than it is at preſent, and that the communication was much greater, and more continual, between the nations who inhabit the interior parts of Africa, and thoſe on the coaſts of Barbary. The hiſtories, the narratives, the tales which the old people of the country repeat, and traditionally tranſmit to their children, and with which they amuſe their fanciful avidity, all mention the gold duſt which the Moors received from Tombut, and other ſouthern countries in the neighbourhood of the Niger. For this they only gave the productions of their lands, which they could obtain by labour, and which is ever a true ſource of wealth. Wars, revolutions, their arbitrary government, the European ſettlements on the African ſhores, and other cauſes, may, perhaps, have forced trade into another channel, and the provinces of Morocco may no longer have the ſame reſources.

It

It cannot, at firſt view, be doubted but that this trade in gold duſt was formerly a part of the merchandize of interior Africa, before the coaſt had any immediate intercourſe or commerce with Europe, when we conſider the immenſe riches accumulated at Carthage, and the prodigious efforts that republic made, during wars that continued more than half a century.

After revolutions ſo great, the different tribes of the Moors muſt have kept theſe communications open, but with leſs vigour and ſucceſs, the means of ſuch communications having continued in a fluctuating ſtate till the cloſe of the fifteenth centuay. It is ſufficiently apparent that, not before this period, as I have already obſerved, did the treaſures of Africa find a new and ſwifter vent, in conſequence of the progreſs of navigation.

Yet muſt we be aſtoniſhed when we remember the riches that were collected and heaped together among the mountains of Morocco, at thoſe which were ſeized by Muley Arſhid, in the firſt acts of his fero-

city; and afterward at the quantity of gold ducats, in the time of Muley Iſhmael, which ſome wealthy families had preſerved, and the remains of which they have concealed from the avidity of his ſucceſſors.

The Empire was, beyond contradiction, more rich in theſe ancient times, becauſe that property was better ſecured, and induſtry had more freedom of exertion, whence the people were univerſally more at their eaſe. Muley Iſhmael himſelf, during a long reign, maintained numerous forces, was ever in motion, and erected many buildings, without augmenting the former taxes, or eſtabliſhing new; and, after reigning fifty-four years in a ſtate of continual agitation, he left behind him near a hundred millions of livres, or full four millions ſterling.

The Jews, who were the collectors of taxes over the whole coaſt, that the Emperor might continue them in their office, annually preſented him with a ſaddle, the trees of which were covered with plates of gold

gold, and the buckles, the ſtirrups, and the bridle furniture, were of the ſame metal. If we ſuppoſe the whole worth of this preſent to be ſome thirty or forty marks of gold, it ſtill would only amount to five-and-twenty or thirty thouſand livres, or from a thouſand to twelve hundred pounds. The Jews, who were then ten times as numerous as they are at preſent, paid, as a tax upon the whole people, a hen and twelve chickens in gold, artfully wrought, the feathers in flakes, and ſhaded in coloured maſtic.

This was leſs a burdenſome impoſition than an offering of homage from the Jewiſh nation to the Sovereign; and this art itſelf, ſo much vaunted, and now ſo utterly unknown, is a proof that the country was more wealthy, and that the induſtry and invention of its workmen were thereby incited. All circumſtances demonſtrate that gold was plentiful in Morocco a hundred years ago, while now a debtor, who is making a payment of a thouſand crowns, often ſhall not poſſeſs, among his money, a ſingle ducat in gold.

A circumſtance ſtill more fortunate, at that time, for the people was that proviſions were at a very low price. Corn was ſold for leſs than five ſhillings the *Setier* of Paris *; the farmers who brought it into their cities, having collected money from all who wiſhed to buy, abandoned the remainder to the firſt comer. In a country where there are no wants, it cannot be affirmed there are any poor. A country Moor, already ſupplied with every neceſſary, except ſhoes, and ſope to waſh his haick, previous to ſome feſtival, took to market, perhaps, ſix quintals of wheat on his camel, and returned ſatisfied if he could only bring back two pair of ſhoes, or ſlippers, one for his wife, and another for himſelf, and two pounds of ſope to waſh their garments; all of which would ſcarcely coſt him ſix and ſix pence, but which were quite ſufficient to make him fine enough to go to ſome wedding.

* The weight of which I eſtimate to be about two quintals and a half.

I ſhall

I ſhall not here enquire into all the variations to which, during a century, the revenues of the empire have been ſubject, nor ſhall I diſcuſs the cauſes of theſe variations; ſuffice it in general to obſerve, that, in proportion as the reſources of the State became inſufficient, the Monarchs have taken ſeveral violent methods of ſupplying deficiencies; that theſe have inſenſibly drained all the channels of commerce, have relaxed every ſpring of induſtry, and have contributed to augment the poverty and oppreſſion of the people. I ſhall confine myſelf to give a brief account of the revenues of the preſent Emperor of Morocco, and of the manner in which they are collected.

Theſe revenues I ſhall diſtinguiſh into ancient and modern; the ancient conſiſt in the tenths levied on the productions of the lands, flocks, and herds, the capitation tax of the Jews, the profits of coining, arbitrary taxes and impoſitions, and, finally, the duties laid on the importation of merchandize.

The

The tithes levied on the productions of lands, flocks, and herds, is a native right, the less burdensome among the Moors because that the husbandman pays in kind, and not according to any variable estimate. He who grows ten bushels of corn pays one without any retrospect or enquiry concerning a more abundant harvest, which, among barbarous states, presents an example of justice well worthy the imitation of the most civilized.

The facility of collecting this tithe is increased, because that the country Moors, being all united in a body in the centre of their grounds, are tolerably exact in watching each other, and preventing any fraud being committed on the rights of the Emperor*. As this tithe is paid in kind, from every sort of product, corn, cattle, wool, and others, the Monarch has magazines

* The collecting of a like tithe would be equally and still more easy in Europe, because that it might be farmed to the communities themselves, as has been most judiciously observed by *M. de Vauban* in his *Project de la Dixme Royale*, which is not the less precious for being old.

gazines in the great provincial towns, wherein to ſtore theſe revenues, which he brings to market, having firſt deducted a ſufficient quantity for the maintenance of his palaces, and of his ſoldiers and ſailors, among whom he often diſtributes wheat and barley.

The profits ariſing from coining are very moderate, for the circulation of money throughout this empire is exceedingly ſmall. In revenge the Emperor ſo debaſes the coin by alloy, that the Spaniſh piaſter, which, according to the aſſay of Paris, is worth about five livres ſeven ſous, or four ſhillings and ſeven-pence halfpenny, e - changed for the money of Morocco, yields the Emperor about ſeven livres ten ſous, or ſix ſhillings and three pence; whence it reſults that, in Morocco, money muſt be imported, and never exported. The tax that the Jews pay, as a tribute, or a capitation tax, is an ancient impoſt, which, as I have already obſerved, was very moderate. The Jews of the preſent day pay ten fold as much as their fathers in the laſt century, and their population, perhaps, is alſo

alſo ten fold decreaſed, inſomuch that the impoſitions upon this nation, in the courſe of a century, have increaſed in the ratio of a hundred to one.

The arbitrary taxes, or caſual impoſitions levied on provinces and wealthy individuals, form an indeterminate revenue, incapable of fixed valuation, as they depend wholly on the occaſion and temporary circumſtances. Motives for levying theſe taxes inceſſantly preſent themſelves, when the rapacious will of the Prince ſhall happen to equal his power. Let it be here remarked, that, in deſpotic States, theſe deſtructive means of raiſing wealth are like water ſprings and mines, they are exhauſted by too frequent uſe.

The duties on exports and imports of foreign merchandize form an ancient branch of the revenue, levied by all the Emperors of Morocco. However heavy theſe duties may be on importation, having once paid them, the goods and effects may be tranſported through all parts of the empire,

empire, without being liable to pay any new tax.

The duty of importation in the States of Morocco is paid in kind, which ſhould ſeem to be an advantage to the merchant; but, it will eaſily be perceived, it is, therefore, the more advantageous to the Prince, who retails the effects he thus acquires with profit.

The cuſtom-houſe duties formerly were but trifling throughout the empire, becauſe that maritime commerce had not then extended itſelf as at preſent. The frequent revolutions, likewiſe, in the country rendered the condition of the merchant fluctuating and dangerous, and baniſhed commerce from the coaſts of Barbary. The revenue they produced has never been conſiderable, except in the beginning of the reign of Sidy Mahomet; commerce was at that time capable of increaſe throughout his ſtates; but he, ſince, ever forming his reſolutions on momentary convenience, has ſucceſſively augmented the duties. Whence it has happened here, as every

where

where elſe, in proportion as the impoſts are increaſed, commerce has neceſſarily diminiſhed. This Monarch has, perhaps, more effectually drained his country than a conqueror would an invaded kingdom, which it was his intent to abandon.

Either the deſire or the neceſſity of adding to the revenues of his eſtates has induced the reigning Emperor to impoſe new taxes, which have raiſed ſome commotions among his ſubjects. A poor nation, tenacious of its former cuſtoms, confined in its objects of induſtry, and its means of barter, is impatient under new impoſitions. Theſe recent taxes are laid on ſnuff, which is farmed by monopolizers, to whom the Emperor has granted an excluſive privilege; on commodities per load, as they enter and go out of towns, or paſs ferries; on woollen ſtuffs, which muſt be ſtamped before they are brought to market; and, alſo, on all the trinkets made by goldſmiths. The governors of the cities are to collect theſe taxes at a fixed ſum, by which they very ſeldom are gainers. Theſe new impoſts, which would be

be leſs burdenſome in countries where the ſubjects might repay themſelves by the encouragement given to their induſtry, having been conſidered among the Moors as innovations, contrary to the ſpirit of the Koran, almoſt occaſioned an inſurrection at Mequinez in 1778; it was chiefly quelled through the reſolution of the Chiefs, and the total want of energy among the people.

In the preſent exhauſted ſtate of the Empire of Morocco, theſe taxes all united are ſcarcely ſufficient for its own ſupport; and ſo little can œconomy ſet apart for the treaſury of the Emperor, which formerly was very conſiderable, that, drained by a concatenation of circumſtances, it was reduced in 1782 to about two millions of ducats, which may amount to twelve or thirteen millions of livres, or five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling*. Such is the ſtate of an empire that nature has en-

* The ducat of Morocco, as paid in currency, is eſtimated at ſix livres, thirteen ſous, four deniers of France.

riched

riched with her gifts, and which, after having been laid desolate by the conflicting passions of man, is at present scarcely sufficient to supply his wants.

In the second volume I shall give a brief history of the sovereigns who have governed this empire, and of the revolutions which have exposed it to so many ravages and oppressions; the traces of which, far from being effaced, seem to revive with each reviving generation.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.*

Additional miscellaneous remarks concerning the manners of the Moors, and characteristic anecdotes of the Emperors, Muley Ishmael, and his successor, Muley Daiby.

THE Moors are excellent horsemen; they ride short like the ancient Parthians and the modern hussars. Their saddles have peaks before and behind; their stirrups are placed far back. They level and fire on full speed, hold the bridle between their teeth, and turn their horses as they wish, by the pressure of their knees and

* This chapter is not written by M. Chenier, but added, from authentic writers, by the translator. Some account of those writers, and the reasons for inserting this chapter, are given in the preface. T.

the equipoize of their bodies. It is an opinion among them that the Chriſtians have no horſes, in which they are confirmed by the eagerneſs of Europeans to purchaſe and export the horſes of Barbary. According to Braithwaite, to ride on a mare is a token of poverty and meanneſs *. This people ſeem as careful of their horſes as they are negligent of themſelves. Such horſes as have been to Mecca are held to be Saints; they work no more, nor would the Emperor himſelf dare to mount them. Their necks are adorned by roſaries and relics like the tombs of their Saints. The ſtables of theſe holy horſes are ſanctuaries for criminals. Muley Iſhmael had a quadruped Saint of this ſpecies, which he uſed to viſit occaſionally, and whoſe feet and tail he would in reverence kiſs. After drinking himſelf, and giving drink to his

* May not this account for the miſtake, if it be one, of M. Chenier, noticed at page 168? It ſeems probable the Moors ride mares, either, becauſe they can ſell their horſes to advantage, or that, the horſes are ſeized by their oppreſſive governors for their own uſe, and to mount the troops each governor maintains. T.

ſaint,

Saint, he would ſometimes permit his favourites to drink out of the ſame bowl.

Excluſive of their horſes, the Moors hold various other animals in reſpect. Their dogs are numerous, almoſt to incredibility, for they think it ſinful to deſtroy them. Their barking is ſo inceſſant that a ſtranger, unaccuſtomed to this noiſe, is incapable of ſleeping. M. Saint Olon ſays, the ſtorks at Alcaſſar were more numerous than the inhabitants; and the reaſon he gives for the averſion the Moors have to killing of them is, that, they believe God, at the interceſſion of Mahomet, metamorphoſed a troop of Arabs, who robbed the pilgrims that were journeying to Mecca, into Storks.

Muley Iſhmael had two ſnow-white dromedaries that were daily waſhed with ſoap. He likewiſe kept forty cats, which he diſtinguiſhed each by its name, and fed plentifully himſelf. One day, making a parade of his juſtice, being told that one of his cats had eaten a rabbit, he was determined to inflict an exemplary puniſhment on this

wicked cat. Accordingly he commanded an executioner to ſeize the cat, drag her through the ſtreets of Mequinez, with a cord round her neck, whip her ſeverely, and cry aloud—" Thus does my maſter treat ſcoundrel cats!" After this the criminal was to be beheaded; all which was punctually executed.

One of this Emperor's pleaſures was to ſee dogs, wolves, and lions, fight; and, when any one of them was in danger of being devoured by the other, he would command his ſlaves to ſnatch the victim from the jaws of the lions, which ſervice ſeldom was performed without the loſs of a limb. He would himſelf encounter lions, taking care firſt to ſhoot them, and afterward, entering their park with his attendants, would complete his eaſy victory with his ſpear. Chriſtian captives, by his orders, were often obliged to combat lions, for the diverſion of his wives. One of theſe captives, being commanded to fight a lion, had the preſence of mind to retire, ſabre in hand, toward a ditch full of water, into which, pretending his foot ſlipped, he

fell,

fell, knowing the lion would not follow him thither. His ſtratagem, by good fortune, pleaſed the tyrant, and the ſlave eſcaped.

In their public proceſſions, when attending their Baſhaws, the Moors are tumultuous, but dextrous. They ſingle out each other to tilt, and will put aſide the thruſt of a ſpear, though made at their backs; will dart their lances into the air, and catch them again, their horſes all the while on full ſpeed. They are exceedingly fond of the exploſion of gunpowder. To honour Mr. Ruſſel, the Engliſh ambaſſador, the Baſhaw gave them a barrel, which they fired as faſt as they could; loading, not with cartridges, but, with looſe powder. M. St. Olon, the French ambaſſador, relates that Muley Iſhmael commanded him to be ſeated on the top of a high wall, without chair, covering, or carpet, there to be a ſpectator of a review of ten thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot. Their manœuvres were all diſorderly, and their onſets began by cries and ſhouts; they afterward all filed off beſide the wall, and,

that they might do honour to M. St. Olon, each man diſcharged his firelock in his face; this being the mode in which they ſhew reſpect to their own chiefs. In their tilting matches they, however, are frequently unhorſed, but their tilting lances are not pointed with iron. Their military muſic conſiſts of drums, fifes, and hautbois, the mingled noiſe of which is ſo diſcordant that, De la Faye remarks, it flayed his ears.

Boar-hunting is one of their amuſements, the ſpears for which are made of a heavy and tough wood, with blades about half a yard in length, and very thick, that they may not break againſt the hide of the boar. They rouze the game by hideous yells and ſhouts; and, ſhould a ſingle Moor happen to find himſelf in the way of the boar, holding it diſgraceful to recede, he ſtands firm, and receives the boar upon his ſpear. The animal gores himſelf to the extremity of the blade, where there is a croſs bar to prevent the farther inſertion of the ſpear, and the hunter from being wounded by the tuſks of the enraged boar. The Moor then either quits the ſpear, or, if

ſtrong

ſtrong enough, keeps his prey at bay, till his companions arrive to his aid.

The Moors, if equals, ſalute by a quick motion of joining hands, and each kiſſing his own. Inferiors kiſs the hand, and often the head, of ſuperiors. The Alcaid is ſaluted by kiſſing his feet, if on horſeback; otherwiſe, his hand, cloaths, or, if ſitting, his knees.

Windus affirms, the climate of Morocco is delicious, the ſoil generous, and fertile beyond imagination; that the Moors imitate the Spaniſh mode of agriculture; that judicious people informed him not a hundredth part of the lands were tilled, and that yet, ſo bountiful was nature, the Emperor was ſuppoſed to have corn enough in his matamores to ſupply the country for five years; that the land would produce a hundred fold more than the conſumption of the empire, were the inhabitants protected in the peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of their labour; but that, ſhould the poor huſbandmen acquire a pair of oxen and plough, he would not only be liable to

be robbed of them by the next petty mercenary governor, but obliged to ſell his corn to pay an arbitrary tribute; that therefore there were no proprietors of land beyond two or three leagues round each town, and, if by chance ſome ſcattered huts were ſeen, they certainly belonged to an Alcaid, and were inhabited by his ſervants, who were treated like the beaſts that aided them to plough the ground.

According to Braithwaite, the northern part of the empire will yield all the eſſential products of Europe, and the ſouthern whatever is grown in the Weſt Indies, which ſufficiently ſpeaks the native riches of the country.

The rains are ſometimes heavy. Braithwaite, in his journal, ſays, returning to Tangiers, he rode all day in the moſt ſevere wind and rain he ever knew, of ſo long a continuance; that the ice was ſometimes an inch thick at Mequinez, and that the cold was ſo piercing he and his companions were one night obliged to diſmount and walk. It ought, however, to be obſerved

ſerved that the human body feels a ſmall degree of cold, after exceſſive heat, much more ſenſibly than a far greater, when the change is leſs ſudden.

The Moors have an opinion ſimilar to that of the Chriſtians, that—“ The king-“ dom of heaven ſuffereth violence, and “ the violent take it by force.” They think importunity will oblige God to grant their requeſts. In the time of heavy rains the children all day run about the ſtreets, and bawl for fair weather ; and, in the time of drought, for rain, making a hideous noiſe. They ſometimes continue this practice for more than a week. Should God not liſten to the children, they are joined by the Saints and Talbes, who proceed altogether into the fields and call for rain. If this ſtill prove ineffectual, they go barefoot in a body, and meanly cloathed, to pray at the tombs of their Saints for rain, to which pious practice the Emperor himſelf occaſionally conforms. Should all theſe efforts fail, they at laſt drive the Jews out of the town, and forbid them to return without rain—“ For, “ ſay they,

they, "though God will not grant rain to "our prayers, he will to thoſe of the Jews, "to rid himſelf of their importunity, and "the ſtinking odour of their breath and feet." This, adds Windus, was done ſome-time ago at Tangiers.

When the Moors happen to be caught in the rain, on their journies, or in the fields, they ſtrip themſelves naked, bundle up their apparel, and ſeat themſelves on the packet till the ſhower is over; after which they dreſs themſelves, and proceed on their way.

The bread of Morocco is very excellent; the corn and flour of Fez is remarkably ſweet and white. Their cheeſe is little better than curd; yet, though ſour in five or ſix hours, is kept and eaten when old. They do not ſkim their milk to make butter, but take it from the cow, and ſhake it in a ſkin; it is ſour, and kept in plaſtered holes in the ground, or buried in earthen jars. Inſtead of butter, the poor uſe beef, mutton, and goat ſuet. When eating, the Moors place their diſhes on a large piece

of

of greasy leather spread upon the ground, which is a substitute for both table and cloth, and round this they seat themselves cross-legged. Busnot informs us that Muley Ishmael eat in this manner, without cloth, napkin, knife, or fork, and out of an earthen or wooden platter.

The Moors are so temperate that a man of sixty is not thought old, but their temperance appears to be more the effect of necessity than choice. The very brothers of the Bashaw of Tetuan used to enter the kitchen, during Mr. Russel's embassy, and threaten to murder the cook, if he did not give them pudding and wine. The sons of the Emperor, Muley Ishmael, have even stolen bread from the pockets of the slaves.

Their avidity and meanness, like many or most other of their peculiarities, can only be accounted for by their ignorance. A court lady, in whose lap the drunken Emperor, Muley Daiby, used to sleep, accepted a moidore as a bribe. The domestics of the palace would cut the buttons and

and the very clothes from the back of the English ambaſſador, and his attendants, if they were not careful to appear in the worſt they had; and the porters, at the various palace gates, individually refuſed to let them paſs till they were bribed. One of the guards picked the pocket of Mr. Windus as he ſtood beſide the prince, afterward Emperor, Muley Abdallah,

When a Baſhaw travels, the Moors of his diſtrict are obliged to ſupply him and his followers with all neceſſary proviſions, gratis. The dread of ſuperior power renders the inferior Alcaids exceedingly diligent, in not only bringing neceſſaries but preſents. This dread is the origin of the Mooriſh ſervility. Windus relates, that, when the Emperor, Muley Iſhmael, appeared, all preſent ſtretched out their necks, as if preſenting their heads to the ſabre, with their eyes fixed on the ground. Thus a man might (and indeed frequently did) loſe his head without knowing any thing of the matter. Some, when he ſpoke, exclaimed — "May God lengthen thy days! "May God bleſs thy life!". Others ſwore, by

by the Almighty, all he uttered was true. Speaking of the English on a certain occasion, he said —— "May I be called the "greatest of lyars if I have not always "conceived a great esteem for that na-"tion." As it happened, he made a pause at "the greatest of lyars," and his eager officious courtiers exclaimed — "By G—, "my Lord, that is true." This, though unintentional, was a bitter sarcasm; for Muley Ishmael was really the greatest of lyars.

In the Emperor's presence all, except foreign ministers and their train, are obliged to appear barefoot. One of the first English ambassadors was obliged to submit to this ceremony before Muley Ishmael; and, in revenge, the ambassador from Morocco was constrained to appear, in the presence of Charles II. at the English court, without shoes, turban, or bonnet.

The heat of their climate, their arbitrary government, and universal ignorance, render the Moors exceedingly idle. They are but little addicted to gaming: they eat, drink,

ſleep, and pray, amuſe themſelves with their horſes and their wives, and ſpend the reſt of their time in one continued fruitleſs ſtate of indolence. To walk up and down a room they hold ridiculous. "Why "ſhould a man move, ſay they, without "apparent cauſe? Is it not more rational "for him to remain in the place where he "is, than to go to ſome other for no pur-"poſe whatever but that of returning?" Numbers of them are ſeen ſeated on their hams, in the ſtreets beſide the walls, holding large ſtrings of beads, one of which they let fall at each prayer they repeat; and theſe prayers are merely repetitions of the attributes of God; ſuch as—"God "is great! God is good! God is infinite! "God is merciful!"

The Moors, like the Turks, have no bells, but are called to prayers from the ſteeples of their moſques; in all of which places of worſhip there is either a running ſtream, or a well of water. Swine are animals ſo unſanctified that a moſque at Tetuan was pulled down, as eternally polluted, becauſe it had been entered by one. They have

have a prophecy that they ſhall be conquered on a Friday, their ſabbath; for which reaſon the gates of their walled towns are ſhut on that day, as are alſo thoſe of the Emperor's palace.

They aſk their dead why they would die, whether they wanted any thing in this world, and if they had not cooſcooſoo enough. Their burial places are without the town. They make their graves wide at the bottom, that the corpſe may have ſufficient room; and never put two bodies into one grave, leſt they ſhould miſtake each others bones at the day of judgement. They alſo carry food, and put money and jewels into the grave, that they may appear as reſpectable in the other world as they had done in this. They imagine the dead are capable of pain. A Portugueſe gentleman had one day ignorantly ſtrayed among the tombs, and a Moor, after much wrangling, obliged him to go before the Cadi. The gentleman complained of violence, and aſſerted he had committed no crime; but the judge informed him he was miſtaken, for that the poor dead ſuffered when trodden

den on by Christian feet. Muley Ishmael once had occasion to bring one of his wives through a burial-ground, and the people removed the bones of their relations, and murmuring said he would neither suffer the living nor the dead to rest in peace.

A Jew, or Christian, who should enter one of their mosques, must either become a Mahometan or be burned alive. The country Moors purify the places where Christians have been, by burning green branches; and their superstition, concerning unclean meats, is so great that the governors of the sea ports, after a naval engagement, prohibited the eating of fish, because it was possible they might be defiled by having fed on, and partaken of, the flesh and blood of Christians.

Their hatred of the Christians, in some respects, exceeds their hatred of the Jews; for they alledge that the Christians eat pork, meat strangled, and blood, and do not wash like the Jews. When Mr. Russel and his attendants passed through the streets of Mequinez, three or four hundred

dred fellows would ſcream, all together,—“ Curſed are the unbelievers!” If a Moor is angry with his aſs, he firſt calls him *Carran*, that is cuckold, next, Son of a Jew, and vents the laſt effort of his malice in the exclamation—Son of a Chriſtian! This is their term of extreme reproach, which they never utter without the addition of “ God confound him!” Or—“ May the fire of God devour his father and “ mother!” This hatred is the leſs ſurpriſing ſince Braithwaite affirms he knew not which were the worſt, at the court of Morocco, Moors, Negroes, Jews, Renegadoes, or Chriſtians. A proof of the immediate and powerful influence of evil example!

It is death for a Jew to curſe, or lift up his hand againſt a Moor. If kicked by a boy, the Jew has no remedy but to run away. He is obliged to approach the meaneſt Moor with the greateſt ſubmiſſion, and every form of reſpect; whereas a Moor diſdains to addreſs a Jew in any other terms than—Jew, do this; or, Jew, do that; and, ſhould he think proper to beat a

Jew, the only hope of the latter is in entreating for pardon for the love of the Emperor, whom he prays God to preſerve.

Muley Iſhmael, ingenious at finding pretexts for robbing his ſubjects, of all religions, thought proper, one day, to aſſemble the Chiefs of the Jews, on ſome pretended important buſineſs. When they came into his preſence, he, addreſſing them, ſaid —
" Dogs, as you are, I have ſent for you to
" oblige you to take the red cap, and turn
" Mahometans. Above thirty years have
" I been amuſed with an idle tale of the
" coming of your Meſſiah. For my part,
" I believe him come already; therefore,
" if you do not now tell me the preciſe
" day on which he is to appear, I ſhall
" leave you neither property nor life. I
" will be trifled with no longer."

Surprized at this gentle addreſs, which they ſo little expected, conſidering how many obligations Iſhmael was under to the Jewiſh nation, and the punctuality with which they had paid the exceſſive taxes with which they had been loaded, the Jews re-

 mained

mained ſometime ſilent. One of the moſt prudent among them, at length, requeſted a week to conſider of the anſwer they ſhould make. The Emperor bade them begone, but told them to beware, and not invent any more of their fabulous tales. They employed the interval they were allowed in collecting that anſwer which they well knew he required: they amaſſed a conſiderable ſum, and, bringing this as a peſent, ſaid—" Sidi, our doctors have con-" cluded the Meſſiah will certainly appear " within thirty years."——" Yes, yes," replied Iſhmael, taking the money, " I un-" derſtand you, dogs as you are, and de-" ceivers ; you think to huſh my imme-" diate wrath in the hope that I ſhall not " then be alive ; but I will deceive you, " in my turn ; I will live, if it be but to " ſhew the world that you are impoſtors, " and to puniſh you as you ſhall de-" ſerve."

Several Moors came to aſk advice for their wives or daughters of the doctor who attended the embaſſy of Stewart, ſome of whom were ſo infatuated they would

rather the patient ſhould die than be ſeen; others conſented, but not till it was too late. One man, only, leſs jealous and timid than the reſt, took the doctor home to his wife, and treated him with kindneſs.

It is difficult, as Windus remarks, to give any general rule what a Saint, in this part of the world, is; or how he became ſo. Any extraordinary accident makes a Saint. A raſcal, attending on Muley Iſhmael, had committed ſome villany; and the Emperor, after raiſing his hand to kill him, declared he had not the power; for which the fellow was immediately ſanctified, and continued in great favour.

All things are lawful to Saints, for they act as prompted by the ſpirit, conſequently may ſteal, murder, or raviſh. One of them ſeized a girl, in the ſtreets of Sallee, who, not well comprehending ſuch kind of holineſs, made reſiſtance; ſome of the ſanctified tribe, however, ſoon tripped up her heels, and threw their haicks over her and the raviſher.

A Chriſ-

A Chriſtian entruſted a purſe of money to a Saint; and, when he afterward re-demanded it, the Saint denied all knowledge of the tranſaction. The Chriſtian applied to an Alcaid, and deſcribed his purſe. As it happened, the Alcaid was a man of quick intellect. He told the Chriſtian, had he been a Moor, he muſt have remained ſatisfied with the affirmation of the Saint; but, being a Chriſtian, he would oblige the Saint to ſwear, in the great moſque, he had not the money. The complainant replied a Chriſtian could not enter the moſque; and deſired the Saint might ſwear in the porch of the houſe of the Alcaid. The Saint came; the Alcaid treated him familiarly, and amuſed him with diſcourſing on various things till he had procured his beads. He then made ſome pretence to leave the room, and ſent the beads to the Saint's wife, as a token, with a meſſage that ſhe muſt return a purſe, of ſuch a deſcription, containing ſo much money. The purſe of the Chriſtian accordingly came, and the Alcaid took this occaſion to ſeize on the effects of the Saint,

and ſend him to practiſe holineſs where he was leſs known.

From Windus we alſo learn it was cuſtomary, under Muley Iſhmael, to purchaſe men; that is to ſay, one Moor, deſiring the deſtruction or poſſeſſions of another, might buy him of the Emperor, Baſhaw, or Alcaid, for a certain ſum. And this was ſometimes done on ſpeculation; the buyer torturing the man bought, in the moſt cruel manner, till he made him diſcover what money he poſſeſſed. Mr. Hatfield, an Engliſh merchant, relates, in a letter to a friend, cited by Windus, that, paſſing a priſon, in company with another Engliſhman, they ſaw a Moor hung by the heels, with irons on his legs, pincers at his noſe, his fleſh cut with ſciſſars, and two men employed in beating him, and demanding money. This, he ſays, was a bought man, for whom they had given five hundred ducats, and by whom they expected to gain an additional five hundred.

Two rival Jews had a conteſt of this kind. Memaran (or Maimoran) had been the

the chief favourite of Muley Ishmael, and had obtained the sole command of the Jews; and, fearing a rival in the enterprizing Ben-Hattar, he offered the Emperor a certain number of quintals of silver for his head. Muley Ishmael sent for Ben-Hattar, and told him how large a sum had been bidden; to which the latter Jew resolutely answered he would give twice as much, for the head of the person who had made the offer. The Emperor, taking the money from both, told them they were two fools, and bade them live friends. Ben-Hattar, accordingly, obtained the daughter of Memaran in marriage, and they governed the Jews between them with absolute authority.

Indeed, so much worse is the government of Morocco than that of the Turks themselves, that the Moorish pilgrims, who resort to Mecca, frequently refuse to return. The violence of this government was not a little increased, under Muley Ishmael, by the insolence, rapacity, and cruelty of the Negroes. The most powerful of the Alcaids used to tremble in the presence of the

loweſt of theſe Negroes. The collecting of the taxes, which his neighbours, the Algerines, could ſcarcely effect with the aid of ten or twelve thouſand men, Muley Iſhmael eaſily accompliſhed by ſending two or three of theſe his negro emiſſaries: ſuch was the terror the ſight of them inſpired.

Nor was the conduct of the imperial Eunuchs leſs arrogant. Braithwaite thus relates an example of their behaviour. A negro Eunuch, lately arrived from Mequinez, came and enquired for the Engliſh ambaſſador. Being informed the ambaſſador was not at home, he ſat himſelf down, and called for tea, as imperiouſly as if the houſe had been his own. The Mooriſh admiral, Perez, paid him great reſpect, deſired he might have tea, but alſo requeſted he might be narrowly watched, leſt he and his attendants ſhould take what did not belong to them. He gave himſelf inſufferable airs, as if he were a perſon whoſe authority was undoubted; ſerved the tea about himſelf, gave cups to all his ſervants, ſeven or eight in number, and filled them with ſugar, till the Engliſh refuſed to ſupply him

him with more. After tea he called for cyder, and drank ſeveral bottles, romancing all the while in a ſtrange manner; affirming that the Emperor, Muley Daiby, was ſo handſome that ſpectators, having once fixed their eyes on him, were unable to look off, and that his troops were more numerous than the ſands of the ſea. When queſtioned, he gave juſt ſuch anſwers as he thought proper, without the leaſt regard to truth. As he went he attempted to pocket the remainder of a pound of tea.

This Eunuch was young, ſmooth faced, luſty, exceedingly well dreſſed, and well attended, with habits no way inferior to thoſe of a Baſhaw. Eunuchs were uſed as ſtate meſſengers, from the Emperor, to the governors of towns and provinces, who careſſed and made them large preſents, fearful of being maliciouſly ſpoken of by them at court. The preſents, likewiſe, of governors to the Emperor's women, and other ſimilar correſpondence, paſſed through their hands; ſo that they as often travelled on the buſineſs of the women as on that of the Emperor, which gave them great authority,

thority, and, for want of a better knowledge of the world, made them ſo intolerably inſolent.

Among various other puniſhments, inflicted by the barbarian Iſhmael, was that of toſſing. Three or four Negroes, ſeizing the perſon, ordered to be thus puniſhed, by the hams, would throw him up, and twirl him round, ſo as to make him pitch with his head foremoſt. Thus, by frequent practice, they became ſo dextrous that they could break the neck at the firſt toſs, diſlocate the ſhoulder, or let the body fall with leſs danger. Sometimes the perſon toſſed was killed, at others, ſeverely bruiſed; and, if able, he muſt not move, while the Emperor was in ſight, unleſs he would be toſſed once more; but muſt counterfeit death. If really dead, no one dared bury the body, until the tyrant gave orders for the burial.

Another ſpecies of torture was that of the iron ring. This was a circle of iron, the inſide of which contained ſharp projecting points: it opened and ſhut at pleaſure, by means of ſcrews, and was uſually applied

applied to the head of any perſon from whom money was meant to be extorted.

Drawing of teeth was one of the inhuman ſports of Iſhmael. He one day commanded the teeth of fourteen of his wives, or concubines, to be drawn, for no other crime than having viſited each other without his permiſſion. His ſon, the drunken, brutal, Muley Daiby, proved himſelf well worthy ſuch a father. One of his miſtreſſes having diſobliged him, he ordered all her teeth to be drawn. In leſs than a week he ſent for this woman, and was told ſhe was ill. So habitual was barbarity, and a ſtate of intoxication, to him, that he had forgotten the dreadful puniſhment he had inflicted, and enquired what was her diſeaſe. Being anſwered her teeth had all been drawn, by his command, he denied ever having given ſuch a command; ſent for the man who had been his executioner, ordered all his teeth immediately to be drawn, and returned them, incloſed in a box, to comfort the woman.

The Mooriſh houſes are not only dark

for

for want of windows, but the doors, through which light is admitted, often have curtains before them. This gloom ſeems neceſſary to the climate; it prevents heat, and baniſhes the flies. The women pay viſits over the tops of their houſes, which are more frequented by them than the ſtreets; and, at Mequinez, they may walk in this manner, from houſe to houſe, over the whole town; and this is much the neareſt way. The ſtreets are not paved, and, therefore, are continually rendered, by the rains and heats, either inſufferably dirty or duſty.

The palace, or palaces, built at this city by Muley Iſhmael, rather reſemble a city than one entire building. The tower of London, ſays Braithwaite, might as properly be called a palace. He eſtimates the circumference of theſe buildings, including ſeveral gardens, meadows, and grounds, at three or four miles. De la Faye ſuppoſes it may be half a league, without the gardens. Windus, who gives a perſpective view of this pile of buildings, ſays it is four miles in circumference, almoſt

ſquare,

ſquare, and near no hill by which it can be overlooked. The walls are wholly of caſt mortar, beaten in caſes, and hardened like artificial ſtone. The outward wall is five-and-twenty feet thick. Within this vaſt encloſure are ſquares more extenſive than Lincoln's inn fields, with piazzas; ſome of them are chequer-paved; others have gardens, ſunken conſiderably below the ſurface, and planted with tall cypreſs trees, the tops of which form a beautiful variety of palace and garden. The tops of moſt of theſe buildings riſe in a pyramidal form, and are covered with green varniſhed tiles, which have a bright and pleaſant effect. The colour of green is appropriated ſolely to the emperor. Thirty thouſand men, and ten thouſand mules, are ſaid to have been daily employed on theſe buildings, which are cumbrous and vaſt, but cool and refreſhing.

Some few additional incidents, extracted from the authors cited in this chapter, will further tend to depict the manners of the Moors of thoſe times; the people who, of all others, conſidering their proximity to en-

lightened

lightened nations, ſeem to have made the leaſt improvements, or progreſs toward refinement. Theſe anecdotes will all relate to the Emperors Muley Iſhmael, and Muley Daiby, whoſe lives will be found among thoſe of the hiſtory of the Emperors of Morocco, in the ſecond volume; but, as they are not inſerted by M. Chenier, they will ſcarcely here be thought ſuperfluous, or miſplaced. They convey a melancholy picture of the dreadful errors, and caprices, of power unreſtrained; and its pernicious, its exterminating, conſequences: a picture that cannot be too often, or too forcibly, preſented to the eyes of man.

So native is juſtice to the human heart, and its neceſſity ſo evident, that Muley Iſhmael himſelf pretended to have it in the utmoſt regard. Shooting, and ſtriking, at random, as he did, it ſometimes happened thoſe were killed at whom the ſtroke was not intended; in which caſe he would, very civilly, beg the dead perſon's pardon, but add it was not to be avoided: the fault, if there was any, was with God, for he had decreed the man muſt die. When he

killed

killed any one, without being able to aſſign a motive, which was frequently the caſe, he would have it underſtood that, acting wholly by the appointment of God, he could not do wrong, nor had any thing to fear from man.

His mercy was, ſometimes, as unaccountable as were his murders. A Spaniard had been bribed to ſhoot him, but, miſſing his aim, lodged the two balls with which he had loaded his gun in the pummel of his ſaddle. The Spaniard was ſeized, and it was expected he would have ſuffered a death of torture. The Emperor, however, reproaching him, aſked what he had done to deſerve this uſage; whether the people were tired of him, and if he were no more beloved: after which he took no farther notice, but ſent the man to work among his other Chriſtian ſlaves. The Spaniard ſtill had his fears, and turned Mahometan, but continued to wear his Spaniſh dreſs, perhaps becauſe he had no other. Some years had elapſed, when the Emperor, being among his workmen, aſked him why his head was not uncovered. The Spaniard anſwered

anſwered he was a Mahometan. The Emperor made enquiries concerning him, and, being informed who he was, ordered his immediate manumiſſion, aſked him a thouſand pardons for having kept him ſo long at work, entirely new cloathed him, and made him a Baſhaw.

To ſuch kind of treatment his grandees were hourly ſubject: to-day hugged, kiſſed, and preferred; to-morrow ſtripped, robbed, and beaten. The Negro who carried this Emperor's umbrella was remarked to be covered with ſcars. When Iſhmael had done with his lance, it was cuſtomary for him to dart it into the air, and, if it were not caught before it came to the ground, the man appointed for that office was killed. It was obſerved of him, whenever he beat a man ſeverely, that man was in the high road to preferment. The chances were greatly in his favour, that, finding him in chains, ſome few days after, in a wretched condition, the tyrant would call him his dear friend, uncle, or brother; enquire how he became ſo miſerable, as if wholly ignorant of the matter, beſtow his

own

own apparel upon him, which was a mark of great diſtinction; make him as fine as a prince, and bid him go and govern ſome great town. This, it is ſaid, was a part of his barbarous policy. Being convinced he had ſtripped a man of all he poſſeſſed, he then ſent him forth again to glean.

Hypocriſy was one of his greateſt vices; and his example rendered it the faſhionable vice of the court, during his reign. He affected to attribute his proſperity to the immediate protection of Mahomet, one of whoſe decendants he is ſuppoſed. He called himſelf the friend of God, the executor of his councils, and it was neceſſary to ſay thoſe whom he had maſſacred, in his frenzy, had fallen by the hand of God. Thoſe who ſhould dare to ſay otherwiſe would themſelves have been maſſacred. The Koran was always borne before him, by his Talbe, as his guide, and the rule of his conduct. His hands were frequently raiſed toward heaven; and not ſeldom while ſtained with human blood. He would often alight to kiſs the earth, and the name of

God, and of his prophet, were continually in his mouth, even in his fits of utmoſt fury. He was vain of being himſelf a Talbe, or doctor of the Mahometan law, and preached, in his moſque, in a manner more forcible, it is ſaid, than any other of the Talbes. So confirmed was the opinion that thoſe whom he ſlew went immediately to paradiſe that the infatuated Moors have come, from the fartheſt extremity of the empire, to entreat the favour of being murdered by his hand. St. Olon affirms that, while he was at Mequinez, in the ſpace of three weeks, he had killed forty-ſeven perſons. It was a common mode with him, to ſhow his dexterity, at once to mount his horſe, draw his ſabre, and ſever the head from the body of the ſlave who held the ſtirrup.

His avarice, indeed, ſeems even to have exceeded his hypocriſy. On a famous moſque, in the city of Morocco, were three globes, or, as they were called, apples of gold, which were ſaid to have been enchanted. They were placed on this moſque by the wife of the renowned Almonſor,

monſor, who expended the greateſt part of her jewels and wealth in their conſtruction. Aſtrology had been conſulted, and the magical architect had, by his conjurations, ſo confined certain ſpirits to watch over them that their removal was held to be impoſſible. The credulous people affirmed that various monarchs, attempting to take them down, had been prevented, by ſome fatal accident, and that the devil had broken the necks of all thoſe who had been ſent to execute ſuch commands. They were, at length, undeceived by the covetous Muley Iſhmael. Theſe balls were removed, during his reign, and buried with his other inviſible and uſeleſs treaſures.

The education of the ſons of this Emperor, if education it may be called, was ſuch as to render them even more irrational, barbarous, and brutal, than their father. They received no inſtruction, nor had they any employment, except that of indulging themſelves in all the malicious pranks of boys. At the ſight of any of them, every man was careful to conceal whatever might attract their notice, for they ſeized on all

that came to hand, and pilfered with impunity. While Busnot and the friars of his order were at Mequinez, one of them entered the apartment of these fathers. A French merchant, acquainted with their manners, rid them of his company, by giving him two or three blanquils, which he joyfully received, and ran off exceedingly happy. The Jews were pestered by their visits. Instead of conducting themselves like the sons of an Emperor, their behaviour resembled that of Gipsies, who rob hedges and henroosts. M. St. Olon had a visit from one, who paid him neither salutation nor compliment, but fell on every thing in the chamber that he thought worth his attention. His entrance and exit resembled that of a monkey, that, seeing a basket of fruit, and having stuffed his pouch, whisks away when he can take no more. This youth, of about twelve or thirteen, carried off a pair of pistols, and some boxes of some sweet meats. After serving this noble kind of apprenticeship, as they approached the state of manhood, they were sent, by the Emperor, to govern his various towns and provinces, where

where the unhappy people ſoon too ſenſibly felt the effects of ſuch an education. The female children of Muley Iſhmael, by his concubines, were ſtrangled at their birth.

This Emperor was an early riſer. It was conjectured his reſt was diſturbed by the horrors of his conſcience, and the exactions, cruelties, and murders of which he had been guilty. Waited on in his palace by women, young girls, boys, and eunuchs, ſuch attendants durſt not tell tales; but, according to report, in his camp, his reſtleſsneſs was apparent. Starting from his reveries, he was heard to call upon thoſe he had murdered, and, ſuddenly waking, he would ſometimes aſk for ſome perſon whom he had killed but the day before. If anſwered he is dead, he would reply— "Who killed him?" Perſonal ſafety required the anſwer ſhould be—"We do not "know, but we ſuppoſe God."

It was affirmed he uſed often to call on his favourite Hameda, when walking alone, and when he ſuppoſed he could not be

be overheard. This Hameda came a boy into his army, where, being noticed, the Emperor gave him a horſe. As he grew up, he became a jocular, pleaſant fellow, and the Emperor indulged his familiarities ſo far that he was allowed to enter the gardens, when Iſhmael was with his women; a liberty no man, before or ſince, ever durſt take. He had the title of Baſhaw of Baſhaws, and the Emperor uſed paſſionately to tell him he never could be really angry with him, and that to kill him was a thing to him impoſſible. It is indeed ſuppoſed he did not deſign his death. It was the conſequence of beating him, with the but end of his lance, ſo ſeverely that he died the next day of his bruiſes. The Emperor expreſſed much ſorrow, confeſſed he repented of what he had done, ſent him and his phyſicians a bag of money, and entreated him to live.

The common habits, and appearance, of Iſhmael, were very oppoſite to thoſe ideas Europeans entertain of imperial dignity. On the firſt audience M. St Olon received, this Emperor was ſeated on the

threſhold

threſhold of the gate of his Alcaſſave, or palace, on a mat, without a carpet, with ſome Alcaids, ſitting upon the bare ground, round him, who were without ſhoes; he had a dirty, ſnuffy, handkerchief over his face, and his legs and arms were bare. As an additional mark of his character, it may be added, his puniſhments were as capricious as they were cruel. He ſometimes ſent for the head of an Alcaid; at others, the meſſenger was to ſpit in his face, give him a box on the ear, or call him cuckold.

Various traits of the character of Muley Daiby have been already given. According to Braithwaite, this Emperor was in perſon ſix feet ſix inches high, of a fierce and bloated countenance, much pitted with the ſmall pox, wanted his foreteeth, and was, altogether, very ugly. At Mr. Ruſſel's firſt audience, he was ſo drunk he could ſcarcely hold up his head. All he ſaid was *Buono*, *Buono*; except giving orders that the Chriſtians ſhould have plenty of wine and roaſted pigs, both of which were his favourite luxuries, though both contrary to the Mahometan law. Had not his

drunk-

drunkenneſs rendered him incapable of all buſineſs, Mr. Ruſſel's embaſſy, probably, would have been ſucceſsful; for he had gained his heart by the cheſts of Florence wine he had brought, one of which, it is ſaid, this Emperor and his firſt miniſter, a fat negro, of monſtrous bulk, with two or three other drunken favourites, emptied in one night. After having drunken three or four flaſks himſelf, the Emperor took up another, and hugging it in his arms, proteſted the Chriſtian, who brought it, ſhould have whatever he came to aſk.

The qualities of his heart and mind were apparent in his youth. He one day met a Jew, and ſwore he would murder him if he did not drink all the brandy in his flaſk. To preſerve his life the man drank the liquor; and, had the Emperor (Iſhmael) paſſed that way, he would certainly have been killed for being drunk.

Another time he obliged a Spaniard and an Engliſhman to wreſtle, and took an oath to diſpatch him who was thrown, which fell to the lot of the Spaniard. He once made

made a grave oration to a monkey, reproving and informing him that monkeys were not good Muſſelmen, and particularly, that they had ſpilt cooſcooſoo, for which they had been metamorphoſed. (Such is the Mooriſh tradition.) Having ended his harangue, he drew his ſabre, and ſtruck off the head of the monkey.

To add any remarks concerning what the effects of ſuch a government, and ſuch governors, muſt be, were needleſs. The Moors perhaps are as capable as any nation of knowledge and wiſdom. At preſent, unhappily, they merit too well the name of Barbarians.

END OF VOL. I.